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Section





THE MIRROVR OF MINDES,

BARCLAYS Fcon animorum,

Englished by

T.M.

LONDON.

Printed by IOHN NORTON, for THOMAS WALKLEY, and are to bee fold at his shop, at the signe of the Eagle and Child in Britaines-Burse. 1631.

MIRROVIE OF MINDES. 8 ARCE ATU

Jeon animorums Englished by

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Long policy and bearing the read that Tacon as the series and at t

TO THE RIGHTHO.

nourable, Richard,
Lord Weston, Lord
high Treasurer of England, Knight of the
most Noble Order, &c.

My Lord,



ned Languages (as your
A 3 Lord-

The Epiftle Dedicatory.

Lord/hip is knowne to be) bauing before read thu acute discourse in the Originall, and enioyed the Authour in his owne strength and elegance, might not onely severely censure my weake translation; but iustly neglect the Presentation of it, as a thing needeless and improper to your learned selfe. But may it please your Lordship to admit my reasons? First, the greater your abilities are, the more authority will your Name

The Epistle Dedicatory.

give the worke to those that are meere English Readers, and to whom my paines most properly doe

belong.

Barclay, the learned Author, having with a sharps and penetrating fight surveyed the difference of humane dispositions, and loth to bound his fame within the narrow limits of his owne Language, cloathed his worke (and that most elegantly) in the Roman tongue.

A 4 1,

The Epiftle Dedicator.

I, lest our English Gentlemen(as many of them as canot master the Originall) should lose the sense of such aworke, haue made aduenture to benefit them, and with the losse (perchance) of mine owne fame, to extend the fame of Barclay. The second reason, and the chiefe, why I present it to your Lord/bip, is drawne from that analogy which I conceive betweene the matter of this booke and your minde, being such, as it may

The Epifile Dedicatory. be thought, if the Author himselfe had lived in this state, he would have chosen the same Patron; your minde (my Lord) being not enely moulded for the Mu. Jesto loue, but made for publike and high imployments, has not onely occafion to meete the differences of humanedispositions, but ability of judgement to difcerne them; and with a conscious delight may run ouer the mention of those things heere, which your

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The Epistle Dedicatory. ?

Jelfe have by experience already found; and meete in

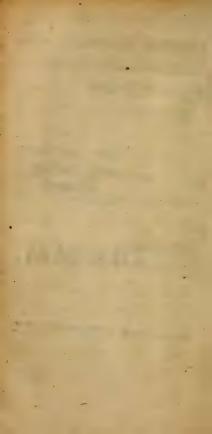
Jome parts of this discourse,
your owne perfections truly charactered.

To you, my Lord, to whole Noble bosome the Muses heretofore have reforted for delight, they now flye for Patronage and helter. To your hands I humbly present this weake endeauour, befeeching Almighty GOD to blesse you with continuance and encrease of The Epistle Dedicatory.

temporal Honours, and
after, with eternall Happinesse; so prayeth

Your Lordships most humbly denoted

THO: MAY.



The Foure ages of man Childhood, Youth, Midle-age, Old-age.

He making, or marring of mankinde, as of other creatures, is, especially, in their first age. In Trees, the sprigs, whilest they are tender, will yeild with ease, to the grafters hand, and grow by his direction, either straight, or crooked. Soe, the mindes of infants, by their Parents skill, no lesse, then their bodies, by the Midwiues hand, may with ease

be moulded into such a fashion as will be durable in after-ages. The feedes especially, and handamentall parts of vertue, are by an early, and ftrong perswation, to bee foe engrafted into them, that they need notknow, whither nature or præcept were the teachers of them. To be dutifull to their parents and obedient to their counsels; to alhorre intemperance, lying, and deceite, as prodigies and things vnufuall; to adore especeally the power of God, and fometimes by mercy, fometimes by judgement, to confider of it. These things must bee taught them, without trouble or seuerity; for what euer wee follow for feare of punishment, from the same things with a fad loathing wee y'e to bee auerle, and the hatred conceiued in our youth, I know not by what cultome of horrour, wee oft nour ish in our old age. They must duly bee seasoned with instructions concerning the excellency and rewards of vertue; and vices in a shamefull and dildainefull manner, must be named to them, to make them altogether ignorant, that such vices are now often in publike practifed, and without infamy. Being thus brought vp in such gentle rudiments, they will hate vices, and learne not to feare vertue as too rigid, and harsh a inistresse. They will easily bee brought to these beginnings of right discipline, by the guidance of their parents and teachers, whose opinions, like dinine Oracles, will altogether fway B 2

their minds yet weake, and not troubled with the ambition of judging. Besides this, they cannot be allured, by the flattering promises of any vice, whose age as yet, is not onely vnexperienced of pleasure, but veterly incapable of it: they will therefore easily condemne that thing, which in the judgement of their friends, is dishonest, and commended to themselves, by noe temptation. Nor, would we here initiate their childhood in any such torment, as superstitious, and anxious piety; but manly, and wary vertue; for fince the mindes of men, by an inhied waight, bend heautly downward to the worft things; wee had neede to bow them, while yet they are ender, quite contrary; that by this meanes when

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when their naturall force shall bring them backe, they may yet retaine a happy meane betwixt their nature, and education. But in this discipline of tender youth, as soone as their mindes -are sensible of praise, the desire of it is to bee kindled in them, that they may then learne, and accustome themselves to affect honour; and in all exercises, either inschooles, or abroad at play, they may labour with delight to excell their equals. Befides, when their age encreasing, shall bring thein by degrees as it were, out of bondage, loe that both the awe of their parents may not too fensibly decrease in them, and they not wanton it, through a fudda ne, and wnexr Aed encrease of liberty: we must leave their childhood to those B 3 deligh

delights which are proper to that age, least we should seeme to accuse nature, which hath ordained that age to bee weake and feeble; and unsealorable fowing of wisedome in them, corrupt their natures, not yet ripe for such instructions. Let harmelesse wantonnesse be free-Ivallowed them; let them gently be taught learning, rather as a change of recreation then a loathtome burthen; and rather feate, then feele, the correction of their parents: let them lastly, emoy that freedome which nature in pity hath bestowed on them; nor bee forced to endure the punishment of humane cares, before they have deferred them; vn!esse we thinke, it may be accounted among the least of mischiefes, when children altogether

gether restrained from playing, are (tike the wife of that Stolon) terrified at all noyse of reds; and doe exhibite to themselnes, and revolve wisedome, in the shape of an Hobgoblin, whose sowre, and sharpe documents they are not yet capable of.

That sense of misery which is most cruelly exquisite, is most incident to that age: whilst their tender mindes doe want ability to gonerne their feare, and indge of miseries, which yet they know not, worse then they are. And as men, whom fortune hath broken with great calamities, how large so enertheir capacities are, will fill them all with the fense, and contemplation of their owne miseries: euen soe in children, when that happens which

B 4

they.

they feare the worst, all their ability of fearing, and grieuing is spent vpon it. A man, wh ch by chance had escaped the hands of theeues, who threatned to hange him; being asked, with what minde he expected death; with the same (quoth hee) that, when I was a boy, I expected whipping. Morconer, the bitternelle of perperuall feare in childrens mindes, confumeth that moisture, which nature intendeth to make abundant, for the spreading of their limmes, and growth of their bodies. For the stomackewe see, doth then want his naturall vigour, when the heate, and spirits are called from thence, to aide the distressed braine; nor is the blood strongly distaled vpon promise of ioy, being too much consumed

confumed with the interruptions of sadnesse. Therefore such dispositions in the bondage of scuere custody, the abilities of their mindes, either frighted, or wasted, will stand at soe vnhappie a stay, that those, who were wise aboue their Childhood, do afterwards want the ordinary wiscdome required at Mans estate. To Colts, and young Cattel', we freely allow an vncurbed wantonnesse, least their first strength, which is then growing, should bee hindered by a fearefull apprehension of future bondage; and are wee soe blinded in minde, that what wee behold in other creatures, we eyther negiech, or will not vnderstand in our owne children? N. ither yet is this age of Infancy to bee let loofe to an B 5 infinite infinite liberty; let them with moderation bee kept in awe, taught to reverence their parents highly, and bee euer ignorant, how much liberty is permitted to them. For if the nature of a child be too malapert and full of fiercenesse, thele pracepts of lenity belong not to him; that swelling, which the vice of nature has engendred in him, and which often the parents too much gentlene Ae hath ripened, and brought to a perfect vicer, may bee easily lanced, and taken away. whilest yet it is greene, and of easie growth. After this manner, their delighted childhood shal be freely left, both to their own, and their parents pleasure; & after they have fulfilled the foliy of their harmlesse concupiscence, age it selse will will by little and little, change their desires; and the rootes of vertue will spring up in them, which they will love, nor soe muchby heat of eature, as indgment. Then they will bring to their first youth, and twilight of wisdome, a minde free, altogether quier, which by the vertue of their education, will ensity embrace the beauty of that light.

But as enery meane is directly opposed to two extreame vices more contrary to each other, then to the middle vertue; soe those that would call the raw mindes of children to too hassly a ripenesse of studies, may well be accused as ignorant of the strength, which ha are bath bestowed upon that age. For besides, that some children have rath-sipe wits, as Papyrius

child-

Childhood was judged worthy of the Romane Senate. There is alio a naturall dowry, and wealth bestowed vpon those yeares, a strength of capacious, and easy memory, which is ever. greatest in the time of their childhood, and with an obstinate felicity able to retaine what ever it hath then learned: but as age encreaseth, the memory by little and little decayeth; like to a Dew of soueraigne Medicine to the body of man, which in the hot countries falls .. vpon the leanes of Holley; vnlesse it be gathered at the breake. of day, it will afterwards vanish at the fun-rifing. Therefore with many, and often discourses, with much reading of profitable History, let their mindes bee filled, that children vn wittingly

may receive such good things as will afterwards grow vp in them, whither they will or noe. The variety also of Languages. which is gotten by vs, with much expence of time, will be ea filytaught our growing children by often discoursing, and connerang with them; so that these things of little labour and noe judgement, will easily be attained vnto, by that age, which is neither strong for labour, nor ripe for judgement. But if wee shall suffer this easie, and moust memory, to grow emptily dry; thosevery things must be afterwards learned with long and wearisome labour, which in our infancy, had bin better and with leffe wearisomnes stored vp:for what is more miserable, then to bee enforced to spend that time of inans estate, which nature hath ordained a time of wisedome (though too to short for foe many Artes and Sciences) in such things, as our empty childhood, if well nurtured, had stored vp safely in the closets of our memories.

But in the childhood, there are often presages of future vertues, or vices; nature beginning to build a foundation fit for their following abilities. Cyrus, that first founded the Persian Monarchy, was then beleeved to bee a shepheards child, when there appeared in him that great spirit, which afterward put a yoake vpon the neckes of the whole East. when he was a Boy, hee played among Boyes of his owne age; and being chosen King by the chance

chance of play, hee truly exercised the regali power ouer his playfellowes: those that were Rubborne, with a high and confident (if not too proud) a Maiesty hee seuerely punished. The fathers of those children, whom Cyrus had beaten, complained of it to King Afrages: the King commanded Cyrus to bee brought to him; who was nothingdaunted, nor expressed any childish, or low feare, at fight of the Throne, and royali Diadem; hee sayd, hee was chosen King among the Boyes, and had done nothing but the office of a King. Astyages suspecting from this some greater matters then the present fortunes of the Boy perswaded, enquired more narrowly of his birth, and parentage; and at last found him

to be his owne grandchilde, his daughters sonne. That Cato, who was afterwards called Vticensis, from the City of Vtica, where he killed himselfe; was in his infancy more then a child. When the Latine Embassadours were come to Rome, as luitors for the endenization of their country, they went to the house of Linius Drusus, Catoes vncle, who brought him vp : There the Embassadours asking the child in iest, if he would entreat, his vncle for them, hee answered not a word, but looked vpon them with a fierce countenance. The Embassadours wondering at the stubbornesse of soe young a boy, began to flatter, & and afterward to threaten him but could not extort a word from him; at last, lifting him out

of the window in a high chainber, they made him beleeue, they would throw him downe; but hee scorning to seare at all, knit his browes, and looked more fiercely on them, then he did before; a prelage, or beginning as it were, of that awfull feucrity, ... which his whole life did afterward expresse. But they are often deceiu'd, who by the behaviour of children, will judge too hastily of their future dispositions. For it must bee some great figne, and firmely constant about the leuity of that age, which must be brought as an effectuall argument, to judge of the inclination of the future, and flexible yeares. There is one presage, which seldome, or neuer deceiuethys, the easy shedding of teares in a child. For those children,

dien, which at the first appression of griefe can truely weepe, are of a fofter nature, and moulded, as it were, for humanity and loue. Some other children you shall see, though they cry aloud, yet maugre the threatning, or beating of their parents, are dry-eyed: those, when they grow vp, are of sierce natures; or else, their dissembling and darke bosomes, doe neuer entertaine, eyther true affections, or just feares.

At their first entrance into mans estate, the heate of blood, and too great an apprehension of their owne strength, doth breede in them a wonderfull change, and carry away their mindes, as it were with a tide of inconsiderate considence, and vaine seaurity. That age, is the

first that is sitted to entertaine delight; and reioyees not more in the tall of pleasures, then in the freedome and liberty, which they have, to enjoy them. They know nor how to bee provident for after-times, for their strengths yet raw, cannot cofider how obnosious they are to the turnes of fortune; and the many objects of pleasure, and delight, have soe possessed their foules, they have left noe roome, nor leisure, to entertaine senere wisedome, which at the first view doth seeme troublefome. Then indeed, doth nature most strongly carry enery difposition (not with a vaine, or dissembled desire) to his owne studies, for which especially hee was first formed. For then those, whom an humble fancy derh

doth inuite to low mæchanicall trades, doe by the guidance of fare, embrace those Arts, which were ordained for them: Some are addicted to the discipline of warre: others by the vigour and ability of wir, are carried to the Muses, or publike businesse; and enery kinde of humane difpositions, by the conduct of Nature, is thus adopted into his owne tribe. For it Nature doe not joyne a certaine defire, and sweetenesse, to the profit of those labours, which shee do: h prescribe; certainely youth, which is scarce gouerned by any reason, nor apt to entertaine any thing vnpleasant, might almost bee excused, though it went aftray.

Moreouer, that naturall vigour, and inuitation of industry

will

will shew it selfe, euen in those eareiesse liues, which are altogether sequestred from labour and businesse; like the Seedes of graffe, which in spight of stones that oppole their growth, will shoote out their tops, through little cranyes; to shew (at the least) that their growth is killed For when young men haue lost themselves, either by sloth, riot, or a mad defire of too much fociety, and wearied with their sports, and pleasures, they retire sometimes to a shew of labour, and flightly busie themselues in it, onely to serue them as a change of delight; they will fall especially vponthat busines, which Nature had given them a fit minde and Genius to follow with industrie. Soe that those motions to certaine actions infused by fate into enery man, can neuer be wholy extin-

grished or perish.

But as trees out of strength and plenty of nourishment doe growtoo ranck, and spredthemselues into vnnecessary branches, but when that rancknesse is beter ripened, and concocted, they prosper with happy fruit: foe, a young man of a hot, and high soule, after his first freedomeis ouerpast, may well take vp, in such a moderation, as is fit to entertaine the best wisedome. But if from the beginning of his youth, hee have alwayes shewed a mature and fober strength of minde; hee will languish away in vnprofitable dullnesse before his old age. But this especially is a great token of future vertue, if amongst

mong all his pleasures and delights, hee lone with eagernede any one thing; and follow that delight (whattoeuer it be) with too feemingly vehement and fierce an appetite. For this hot defire of his, at the least declares, that hee is able to entertaine a true and laborious desire of those studies, which he affects; without which disposition no man can truely eyther follow vertue, or dedicate himselfe to glory.

But although the counfels of oldage bee sometimes distast-full to the freedome of youth; yet the opinion, which young men haue, that their owne witdome will yet encrease, begets in them a high esteeme of old men as thinking that they, which haue already trauelled through

the paths of youth, are able to direct those, which are now in it. The minde of man, in this age, is wondroufly ambitious of praise, and glory; impatient of difgrace; not long perfitting in the same resolutions; much selfe-admiring; not able enough to choose friends, nor to refift that loathing, which may afterwards grow. But for any exploit, which by a suddaine strength, and ability of minde, may be inuented, or done, noe age of mortality is fitter, then the heate of youth Soe, that we might judge that the office of Childhood is to learne, and retaine by a strong memory, the deedes, & speeches of their Ancestours: of Youth, to inuent, act, and speakerthings altogether new; and lastly, of Mid. dle age to moderate it selfe by obseruations from both the former.

The next, is the Middle age of man, equally distant from the dangerous giddynesse of youth, and the burden of old age: in which, the minde and body doe both foe flourish, that then onely you would thinke them to be truely men, and that all the life which man enjoyes, may feeme to bee given him, for this ages fake. The body, and minde, are both exceedingly changed from what in youth they were: as their choise of meates, and pleafures, are not the same; soe, their manners, and all their defires, are much different, and moulded (asit were a new). The minde is strong, enlightned, and enlarged, (asit were from the darke mists of youth) it begins to censure with much rigour, the trespassed errours of the same, and wonder at it selfe, that before, soe improvidently it could goe astray. From thence, arises a profitable repentance, and diligence, to repaire the ruines, which youth has made.

They are great seekers of wealth, and honour, and foe greedily labour to acquire the ornaments, and supporters of life, as if they thought, their life were endlesse. Noe age is more cunning, then this Middleage, in dissembling friendshipp, and gouerning their affections. They then begin, to be truely valiant, moderating, not extinguishing that heate of courage, by which youth was rafhly carried vpon reuenge and fury. The indgement then is found, and perfect, nor carried hastily by the torrent of youth, nor suffering vnder the infirmities of a crazed body. They are wary in their vices, and loue not vertue, (for the most part) without hope of reward. But, old age by little and little, like a tide, ouerflowing this happy middle estate of mans life, doth benumme his blood, and afterward his vnderstanding. This agediffering in ha bit, affections, & manners, doth partly encrease the vertues of the former ages, and partly make them degenerate into vices. Feare especially, is the companion of that age, & disturbeth the minde, a seat otherwise fit, to containe wisedome. For old men, destitute of that heate of minde, which inspireth fortirude, and through many courses both of their owne, and other

mens dangers, having arrived et that age, are youally too much perplexed, in confideration of those enills, which eyther themselves have escaped, or others haue beene ruined by. From hence it happens, that the strength of counsell, and wifedome, the greatest endowment of old age, is often corrupted by too much feare, whilest it looketh too warily, even into the safest things, and had rather haue wounds vnhappily concealed, then come into the venturous danger of a cure.

Happy was that delayer, who closely encamped, kept off, (as it were with a thield, or buck-ler) the fury of Hanniball, from the ruine of Italy, that Fabius, the chiefe preserver of the Romane Empire; yet how meare

wasit, that this Fabius, by too to fearefull, and superstitious an opinion, had auerted againe from Rome, her felicity, which "wa; then returning. Publim Scipio had layed the proiect, of carrying the warre into Africke; by that meanes onely, was Hanniball to be remooued, and drawne out of the bowells of Italy, to relieve the distresse of his ownecountry. Fabiu Maximu too fearefully weighing all the dangers of foe great an expedition, (when to his owne too much delaying nature, old age was added) had almost interuerted this wholesome proiest of soe braue a Generall, and in that, the safety of the Romane Empire. But this one blemish in old men, their other vertues may well excuse; especially, their wifedome in conic furing of things

things to come. Which wiledome confirmed in them, by the remembrance of times past, the lesse it is obged to the organs of the body, with the greater purity, and consulting, as it were, with heaven it selfe,) it fore-

feeth all things.

How many Citties, and Empires, by their wisedome, haue beene preserved; how many henefits private men, which have followed the counsell of the aged, have reaped thereby; as ancient histories have all recorded, soe daily experience may well instruct vs. And from hence, (perhaps) proceedes, that great, and vnwearied defire of talking in old men; as if it were a spurre, giuen by Nature, for feare it should be wearisome to those men, to teach

and instruct, who of all others are most able to doe it.

But many of them in this matter, can seldome observe a moderation, but in an infinite discourse (when young men apply themselves vnto them) rclate all needleffe passages, and actions whatfocuer, of their former lines; and not contented (which is most troublesome) with one vexation as they light vpon the fame young man, they will either find, or make an occasion for the same discourse; and the more patient, or shainefast the young man is, whom they have gotten to this torture of hearing, the more cruelly they will bee fure to punish him. Nor, doe they love onely to bee heard; but when their counsell is asked in any thing, or C 4

they of their owne accords doe giue counsell, they are too imperious in enioyning beliefe, and prescribing enery thing, after their owne way; vrging men against their wills, and supposing themselves to bee then neglecsed, when they in all things are not ruled by them: the counfels and actions of youths, and men, they behold, and censure with great scorne, being placed, (as ic were) in the higher scate. Doe thou therefore, (if thou would st truely deserve, that young men hereafter should excuse the errours of thy old age) endeauour to please them, and suffer them in an harmelesse delight, to appland themselves. Heare them with gentlenesse, and seeme (at least with a pleased countenance) joyfully to accept what**locuer**

soeuer they deliver. For what lefie reuerence can bee at any time shewed to that great age, which deserueth a fatherly respect and honour, then to seeme to like and approoue their sayings ? and with a gentle obsequiousnesse (which cannot disparage vs.) luffer foe venerable anage as that, to enioy a delight which is proper to it.

But the long experience of worldly affaires, which hath followed them to this age and the fad examples of other men, which have fallen into poverty, doth commonly breede an extreame couetousnesse in old men. What a strange prodigy, or mockery of mankinde is it, at that time with greatest

greedinesse to affect wealth, when when wee can neither keepe it long, nor enioy at all the delights of wealth, by reason of the decay of strength? but this mischeiuous affection is still fostered in those drie brests, and Nature decaying, is then most fearefull to fall into pouerty, when shee is least able, by reason of weaknesse, to relieue her selfe.

But as for those old men, whose wisedome has anoyded fuch rockes, as before we mentioned sthere are none more beneficiall to humane society, then they are: They are happy in gouernment', both of publike itates, and private families: they can vanquish those ill affections, which transport younger minds with vnaduised fury: they can aduise young men, and forgine their errours, not forgetting what

what themselves once were, and what then they thought: lastly, their grave wisedome has made them worthy, long to enjoy that old age, and compose the affaires of the whole world with that excellent philosophy, which experience has taught them.

to Wate und

The

The Second Chapter.

That every age almost, hath a particular Genius different from the rest 3 that there is a proper Spirit to every Region, which doth in a manner Shape the studies, and manners of the inhabitants, according to it felfe. That it is worth the labour, to finde out those Spirits.

Reenewich is an ancient lifeat of the Brittaine Kings, her fituation is by the Thames fide

fide, foure miles from London. A hill there is that ouertops the palace; and at a moderate diftance of height, takes a faire survey both of the towne, and river. You ascend to the top of ir, by other little hils; vpon the fummity of the high hill, is a flat of great circuit. In a morning, by chance I ascended thither: noe man was neere me, to disturbe the recreation of my thoughts; which wandred about with delicious freedome. But the wonderfull pleasure of the place had almost sooner rauished my minde, then filled mine eyes, with the fayrest prospect, not onely in Brittaine, (butit may bee) in all Europe. A spatious plaine commanding from about the leffer hills,

and those hills enuironing round that lofty plaine, did neither fuddenly debarre the prospect, nor fuffer the fight to bee too much dispersed through the emptie aire; the river Thames filling the adioyning fields with a most pleasant fruitfullnesse: and at the foote of the hill, the wanes returning in manner of a ring, haue almost made an Iland of it. All along the channell, were ships of all kindes, both for warre and traffique; those, that were neare, I might wholy discerne; those that were farther off, or partly hidden, by interpolition of rising bankes, appeared to mine eyes by their malts, and faile yards, like anaked wood in the winter time.

The whole coast is most sweetly verdant, and the profit

of pasture has exempted it from tillage; nor hardly, is there ground any where more abundantly fruitfull for grazing of cattell. The lands of private men, after the manner of their country, were fenced with ditches, whose bankes were adorned with rowes of trees: especially the high waies one each fide were planted with poplars, that the whole valleys to him, that farueyed them, from the top of the hill, appeared like continued gardens, and walkes of pleasure. But the greatest delight is, that soe faire a verdancy is almost distinguished into diuerse colours; the places, which are farthest distant, shadowed by the face of the skie, doe seeme of an aztre hewe; those which are nearer, and ful-

ler of trees more thick-leaved are of darker colour; the graffe on the ground presenting a thinner, but brighter greene: but the most beautifull object, is London it selfe, esteemed among the fairest of the Cities of Burope, a City of innumerable houses, yet scarcely able to containe her people. For at the other side of the River Thames, it is farre extended, and adioyneth it selfe to the neighbouring townes, foe that the buildings are continued for foure miles together. In all this space, not onely private houses, but faire Churches of perspicuous height doe eucry where display their beauty; and the middle of the City, (like the swelling or bosse of a buckler) is raised by the Aructure of their greatest Temple

Temple:

Whilest I was carryed away with this suddaine delight, I began to recall my minde, and thus to confider with my felfe. What should it bee, that the s vnawares had ranished mee? why should this prospect soe wonderfully please ? what hidden force, or reason, had thus wrought vpon my mindel was it the City of London? the course of the river? the mountaines? or the prospect of the fields, and woods? None of all thefe; but foe faire a variety, and the induftry (as it were) of Nature, difplaying her riches

I began then to thinke with my selfe, that there was nothing in the world soe exactly beautifull, but at last would glut.

and

and weary the beholder, vuleffe after that manner (as this place was) it were beautified with contrarieties, and change of encowments, to refresh continualy the wearied beholder with vnexpectednouelties. And, bccause the world was to bee framed in perfection of beauty, Nature was not forgetfull of foe great an art. Some countries thee hath lifted to the tops of mountaines: others, shee haththrust downe into the valleys: Some, the hath scorched with immoderate heat, others, shee condemneth to extremity of winter; the residue, shee ordained (though not equally) temperate.

All lands are not fruitfull, nor all barren: nor doe either continue foe at all times. Some

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countries, that heretofore were rich, are now deformed, and concred over with barren fands: others, that of old, were milerably barren are now growne into that abundant fertility, as to afford meanes, not onely for life, but for ryot and excesse. Soe that in the beauty of the whole world, the parts are oftentrantformed into manifold habits. and different appearances. Nor haue the starres, though they alwayes keepe their constant motions, the same influences vpon inferiour bodyes, nor breede in the aire the same effects: and therefore, though all yeares doe in equal spaces finish their circuits, yet does noe. yeare altogether imitate that that went before, nor is the exact rule of the following yeare. But

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But man created after the image of the deity, and for whose sake especially, all other ornaments of the world were framed, is the greatest instance of this beauty of variety. For men haue not onely in their bodies a difference of habits, and proportions; but their mindes are fitted for foe many things, that noe picture can with more colours, or lineaments delight the eye of the beholder, then are drawne by the fates, in the mindes of men. What orders, or rankes of vertues and vices? what excellencies of Artes? what subtleties of wit has not Nature stored up in this Magazen of wifedome? but there is noe diversity, which is more worthy of wonder, then this that men borne to liberty (for how

how could they elfe governe themselues, and by their owne endeauours, deserue praise, or infamous punishment) should also serue; their owne dispositions, the face of the times, wherein they line, forcing them as it were, into certaine affections, and rules of living. For euery age of the world has a certaine Genius, which ouerruleth the mindes of men, and turneth them to some desires : Some ages breath nothing, but martialldiscipline; & withinfew yeares, all are againe composed to peace, and quietnesse; Sometimes common-wealths, and sometimes Monarchies are affected by the people. Some Nations that seemed (as it were) to bee borne to barbarisme, in processe of time, are brought to

perfect civility: and in some few ages, are peruerted againe to their old barbarisme. Soe the world in generall, did oft flourish with great abilities, and after a while, industrie flackening, hath beene couered, (as it were) with a cloud, and loft. When the affaires of Greece did flourish, what ciullity, what wit, or fubtilty, was wanting to that Nation? Soe great was the skill of their handycraftes men, that their catued statues of men, and beasts, did feeme 'almost to live: soe fluent their oratory, foe sweete their poetry, that even the ambition of Rome proposed them to her fons, onely to imitate, not to excel. But fortune remoouing after ward to other Nations, noe peop ple, more then the Gracians, did forrowforrowfully figh at the mention of their ancestors, from whose ability they were then fallen!

But if wee observe the turnings of the Romane Empire, and the passages of times nearer vnto vs, wee shall more certainely discouer the changeable Geniuses of the ages. Vnder Augustus, Rome in peace had adorned her greatnesse, with all the dresses of true humanity : and among other things, her language was then in the height of purity. By small things wee may gueffe at the greater. From whence proceeded foe many Poets of happy raptures, and numerous straines in those times, but from some certaine Spirit, which then inspired them? which had never before beene propitious to Italian Poets, and after-

afterwards againe forfooke them: Thole few yeares, from Nerato Trains, had many Poets, and many that laboured in the study of Rhetorike; in whom the declining of the Romane lan guage did plainely appeare; instead of the native beauty, and maiesty of it, which was then loft, they vsed obscure, and swelling heights, with forced fentences instead of naturals. At the fame time, in the reigne of Nero, that peace was broken, which had long fetled the Romane Empire, and all the world was filled with combustion; nothing, but warre was in the mindes of all men, in France, in Germany, and the vttermost parts of the Easterne world. From whence proceeded it, but from a certaine force, which I may almost call fate,

swaying the hearts of men to those endes, that are ordained for them? in the age that followed, the elegance of language was wonderfully lost; and because the souldiers had all pow er, the manners of the people were turned backe to their old ferity. Yet humanity strone against those mischiefes, vntill forreyne Nations inuaded the Empire; and what of all things was most miscrable, noe memory almost was left of the lost sciences; those that were borne in these times, seemed to bee borne, though not to a fierce. yeta blind barbarisme; and most of their ancestors, whose wrirings contained morality, or history, while their bookes by the negligence of posterity were lost did dy a second& a worse death.

The other Arts were taugh in more rade and vapolish's waies, or elle were altogethe lo.t. Not long after, men wer againe growne to the loue o learning; but such was the vn happynesse of the times, that bredd them, that they migh seeke learning, but not attain it; if wee call that learning which is the knowledge of an tiquity, and iudgement, not one ly in the schoole-subtilties, bu in the highest and noblest things and lastly, such a kind of instru ction and literature, as our an cestors did honour in men o their time.

There was notwithstanding a kinde of learning then vsed, a greeable to the dispositions o those times: as with great disputation, and eager cauilling (in

Read of explayning) Philosophy and Divinity, to perplexe them more: in the Law, to extend the sentences of wise men, the decrees of Emperours, and ordinances of Popes, into mad and immethodicall volumes, to the eternall vexation of the student: but most of them had gotten this way of writing, that what argument focuer they made choyce of, they delivered to their readers, as their owne, the words and sentences of former authors concerning that subrect. Soe the errour of one, was oftentimes as a flippery place for others to fall; and many from the right opinion of one man, did borrow wisedome.

And what titles foeuer they gaue their bookes, they thought it not indecent to digreffe into

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neuer soe generall discourses. What histories written in thole times, did not begin at the creation of the world? what part of humane affaires, as oft as it was written by those rude wits, was not drawne into a strange confusion?and that you may perceine that those men were not wanting to Nature, but Nature Perselfe was straightned and fick, they were very industrious, and wanted not the fignes of fincere wisedome, in handling those parts of science, which onely were allowed by fortune vnto that age. Which was in the Philosophers, a subtile way of disputing; in the Lawyers askill rather to know the intent of the law then to distinguish of the times, of the force of formes, and the causes of faction s.

Last of all, in this age, that darke mist is vanished away from the mindes of men, which are now composed to all kinde of light

and subtlety,

Nor is this change onely to bee observed in the schooles of learning, the affaires of Kingdomes and commonwealths are more cunningly administred; warrs offensive, and defensive, are made with more skill, and dexterity; and soe great a curiosity in many trades, that whatsoever is rude and unpolished now, we vie with scorne to censure it, as made, of likely to bee made in the dull times of our ancestors.

Nor can this change proceede from any thing but the Genius

as it were of this age. Whose excellency, when after an appointed time it shall expire, will giue up the world, as it may be feared, vnto another, and ruder Genius; and after the expiration of certaine yeares; returne againe. See that wee may diffinguish the difference of the ages, not more perfectly by the motions of the flarrs, then by the deflexion of mankinde into divers dispositions, and abili-Ties.

But there is another force, that rauisheth away the mindes of men, and maketh them addicted to certaine affections. Namely, that spirit which being appropriate to enery region, insuseth into men, as soone as they are borne, the habit, and affections of their owne coun-

try. For, as the same meates according to the various manners of dreffing, may bee changed in taft, but the inward quality of nourishing, or hurting, can by noe qualification be altogether lost : soe in every Nation, among all the tides of lucceeding ages, which alter the manners and mindes of men, one certaine quality remaines ineuer to bee shaken off, which the fates have distibruted to every man,according to the condition of the place, wherein hee was borne. From thence come those ancient vices, which still endure, as proper to the climate, which in histories have commended er branded whole Nations: as heere, the people are naturally light, vnconstant, and wavering in their resolutions: there, the D 4- gieffer

groffer and grauer mindes, are naturally swelled with a melancholy pride, vnder the shew of hidden wisedome. Some Nations endure not thirst : Some people with extemporary wits, are able to encounter any fuddaine alteration, or vnexpected businesse. Some Nations are implacable in desire of renenge: Some, as it were by right of inheritance, enioy a perpetuity of the highest vertues: Some peopleare naturally plaine-dealing, others fubtil, and many valiant. And seeing that nothing is more beneficiall, then from the Genius of diverse Nations to be foe enformed, as to know how to behaue our selues in different countries, and what from every place to expect or feare; it will be worth our labour, to define here .

here the especiall manners of some Nations, that from the common disposition of many men, we may finde out the priuate in particular persons. Nor will there be found foe superstitions a louer of the place of his birth, but will bee contented to heare some vices named in the character of his owne country. For if Nature did neuer forme any mortali man of fuch accomplished abilities, but that something in him, as the last hand of the workeman, was still wanting: what pride were it in any man to exempt whole prouinces from this publike fate? and disdaine to bee borne in such a place, as is subject to errours, that is among mankinde? farre hence bee all wiilfull partiality to our owneg D'c :

and envious detraction from 6ther countries. Let vs fincerely acknowledge our owne vices, and bee truely delighted with the contemplation of vertue in others.

Therefore before that with a ferious and sequestred contemplation, wee begin to confider the dispositions of people, let vs furuey the world, as from a tower, and looke who now are the inhabitants and masters of it. Asia, and Affrica swallo. wed vp by the power of Barbarians, and the great calamity of Greece, and Thrace, have thrust, and confined civill humanity to these vtermost parts of Europe; that we, foe often oppressed by the fierce Barbarians, and guelded, as it were, of our richest countries, might learne truely

to account our ownestrength, or seare the strength of others. But we insensible of these enils, and oppressed with a deadly and pestilent slumber, haue neither feared the hand of headen; nor combined the strength of those provinces, which are yet left vs. against the cruell threatnings of those barbarous Nations. But on the contrary, have most impionsly wasted, by factions and quarreis, our owne firength, and by harred dinided that, which though combined into one body, had beene scarce of sufficient strength. But at the last, the flame of these combustions eyther quite expiring, or pernicious peace settled a while for worse intentions, a cessation of armes gave mutuall traffique to all these Nations, which as they

differed in dispositions and language, foe could they not bee guided by the same arts, These were the French, Brittaines, Itaa lians, and Spaniards, and all that mighty people comprehended. under the name of Germany. The reliques also of Pannonia, and as much of Illyrium and Dalmatia, as is now left vs: those Sarmatians and Seythians. which are now called Polonians and Moscouites: the Cimbrians. alfo, and what cueris contained within the dominions of Denmarke and Swethland; nor are we soe farre(oh misery)remosued from the Turkes, but that wee haue occasion to acquaint our selues with their dispositi; ons and manner of lining.

In the manners of these peo-

of Nature, with a delicious and profitable meditation, whichin a mixture, resembling the members of a body, hath inuolued the habits and affections of foe many different minds. But to examine all other climass with the same diligence, were. more for the curiofity of plea-. fure, then the profitable vie of commerce or conversation. For who but Merchants gos into Affrick, and there vpon the shore, or by chance, by river, some what farther into the country, doe traifique fuddenly, or make bargaines, of noe great trust or friendship. The Persians not onely by impiety or superstition, but a great distance of sea and land, are divided from vs ; India in like manner is visited by none but Merchangs, and Sailers, except

the Lucanians who frequence those places and there settle their plantations; the people of China doe abhorre all fellowship with forreyne Nations. Nor doe any of our people defire at all to commerce with that fordid, and (for the most part) miserable Nation of the Tartars. America, as farre as it is civillized at all, is possessed. by the Spaniard onely; foe that pone other besides themselves, may with fafety commerce, or trainque there. It is therefore expedient, or indeed lawfull, for none but the Spaniard, to know the dispositions of those people. But those parts of America where naked barbarisme, abhorred by mankinde, is vied by the wild people, whom noe lawes nor industrie had tempered; have beene diligently obferued by some of our men, who in hope of gaine have gone thither.

The Natures of those rude people are incapable of our civility. They account all strangers, that arrive on their coasts, as enemyes, & ensurers of their liberty; neither are those ignorant and sauage mindes destitute of subtlity to impious acts; cruelty & treachery, instead of prudence and true fortitude, they often excercise.

What profit will it bee, to examine farther the manners of these people, who by a barbarous wildenes have seemed, as it were, to forsake Nature? especially, seeing they containe themselves within their owners, and admit noe forreiners

vnlesse vpon compulsion, or some slight occasion of saddaine

traffique.

But to leave those Nations, which are eyther vnknowne to us, or by too great a distance of sea, and land, too farre divided from our acquaintance; to examine the inhabitants and Genivs of our owne world; the habit of each country, the condition of the soyle, the temper of ahe aire, or distemper in eyther

kinde, will not be impro-

per to our present discourse.

The

of Minder. 65

FRANCE.

Callia, according to the test almost of all the Provinces in Europe, (a terrour heretofore to. the Romane Empire, and renows ned by victories against Greece, and Afia) is now diftinguished into diverse Kingdomes,... and different manners. What. soeuer is bounded within the Rhene, the Ocean, the Aiper, and Pyrenaan mountaines, was once comprised. under the name of Gallia It extended moreouer, from the farther fide of the. Alpes, to the river Rubicon, and lay heavy vpon the Romane territories. For the Ganles a valiant. Nation, inuading Italy, facking:

facking and firing the City of Rome, were soe great a terror to the Romane Senate, that a decree was made, that as often as the Gaules were vp in armes. not the Priests, nor old men, should bee exempted from the duties of warre. It was afterward subdued by the power of Rome, but then when in it selfe it was divided by domesticke factions, nor did they euer, wholly vnited, eyther know perfectly their owne strength, or make tryall of it against Italy. In processe of time, a people out of the midd'st of Germany, called Franks, or French men, inuaded Gallia, and seemed to reduce it to a second bondage. But when they were conquerours, they mixed themselves with the conquered Nation, and seemed not

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formuch to have subdued the Gaules, as the Romans which possessed Gallia. The country then being divided among many Princes; that part onely retained the old name, which was possessed by the French; a Nation of great vertue, and renowned in deedes, and well deferning, that Historians to their praise, should make vie of the vanity of that common sable, to stile them the reliques of the City of Troy.

This Realme of France, the fairest and richest of all Prouin ces in the Westerne world, seemeth within it selfe at happy amulation betwixt the Genius and dispositions of the inhabitants, and the riches and temper

of the Land it selfe.

The country aboundeth enery where

where with corne and wine ; fertile in oyle, and all fruits, which brooke not a raw ayre. Especially, that part which is more Westerly: or lyeth neerer to the Alpes, or Ligarian leas. There is noe land in the whole world, for the extent of it, that enricheth the inhabitants with more bleffings, It aboundeth foe much with all kinde of wealth, that it vses to trailique with forreyne Nations, for nothing almost, but pleasure onely. For nothing but ryot in this wealthy people, did fet an high price. vpon the filkes of Italy, and the cunning workmanships of the German Nation. But their traffique with Brittaine, doth bring them Merchandise, if not altogether necessary, yet certainely of great profit; which affordeth them.

them both for vie, and ornament, great abundance of Lead, Tinne, and Saffron But France, beste her corne, wherewith she relieueth the barrennesse of Spaine, and wines, which shee fendeth into the neighbouring and colder countries, is rich allo in hempe and flaxe, whereby the supplyeth the want of failes, cordage, and fuch tackling nece-Sary for fhipping in many Nations. Bywhich merchandise great plenty of gold is daily brought into that country, though the ground afford noe mines of it; and those Nations, which with painefull diligence digge it out of the bowells of the earth, and with care transport it from the farthest regions, doe seeme but servants to labour for the felicity of France.

In soelarge a country, composed of soe many and soe great proninces, noe one part is barren, or neglected of Natu but all enriched by her great fauour. For those vast parts of Aquitaine, which may seeme vnfruitfull, are neither void of inhabitants, nor unpleasant unto them; that contry is stored withwood enriched with fruits of high price, and abounding with plenty of daintie fowle : that whatsoeuer it wants in fruitfullnesse of foyle, which is there fandy, as much it is indebted to the temper of the ayre.

France is begitted at one side by the Ocean, at the other by the Mediterranean Sea, which floweth from the coasts of Spaine, and Affrick as farreas

Ægypt.

Ægypt. A ficuation foe commodious for sea-traifique, that a may send out seetes into any sea of note, and arrue at any shore, if the French men could delight as well in tailing, as in horsemanship, and entertaine lasting projects, as well as suddaine ones.

The people in generall, are louers of their Prince, and very obedient; their King does truely raigne, and they account it a crime to question the greatnesse of his prerogative. They are able in feates of warre, especially the horsemen; free from . perfidiousnesse, especially in publike counsells; of an vncurbed strength within themselves but when they inuade a forreyne Nation, their heate and fury is quickly forgotten: by

that meanes they possesse not long any forreyne conquest, and are onelypowerful to their own destruction. They have conquered heretofore by often viccories, Lembardy, Naples, Sicily, and manyother prouinces in the world; but within a while, they haue too fecurely contemned their enemies not wholly subdued; or out of an inconfiderate, and open disposition, too much trusted to their counterfeit obedience; or else they have vsed their victory with too great a licence, and more wantonlylinfulted then the nature of thoseNations was able to suffer; or last of all, to forget the warrs, and thinke of their owne country, whose absence they are not long able to endure. By these vices, they have become a prey

to those Nations over whom they have triumphed, and their warrs, which have begun prosperously, have oftended in dis-

honour, and losse.

Noe men in the world haue a Nature more fitted for manly behauiour. A bold countenance, gesture, and motion, becomming the whole body. And this comely garbe is an ornament to the vertue of braue men; but to weake soules it serues but as a vizor, or naturall conerture to hide, or qualify their abiect mindes. foe elegant and gracefull is their carriage, that what fashion of artire soener (among all their infinite variety of fashions) they are pleased to take, or what posture of body in their falutations, you will ftill thinke that nothing could become the better.

But their neighbouring N tions deceived with a ridiculor errour, and hoping to attait the behauiour of the French, b a vaine imitation of their ar parrell, and garbes of crindging not-knowing that in gestures grace, enery thing by the fam Genius, is made pleasing i some men; but in others whom Nature hath not enriched wit those changeable habit, sa studi ous imitation of suchdelesta ble garbes is not onely vnplea fing but most ridiculous.

For vertues and vices, and what ever motions are bred in the innermost lodgings of the soule may easily be counterfeited, for these affections are soe closely hidden, and farre from the sight, that noe man can discover whither they be true or not. Soe we may easily diffemble humility, hatred, loue, or piety. But those things, which are not onely done by the gouernement of the minde, but by custome, and the outward hability and fitnesse of the body, thou canst neuer counterfeit, when Nature doth striue against it. As a comely posture, and carriage of the body, a facility in leasting, a grace in speaking, are things not begotten in the inner, but the outward man. But these things being most eminent in the French behaujour, can'neuer be attained, nor imitated by thee, vnlesse thy Genius of his owne accord have disposed thee for that way.

But the world can neuer bee furficiently thankefull to the hospitality of France, which

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feemeth to open a temple of h manity, or fanctuary for r fortunes of all forreyners to fl vnto. They consider not th country, but the worth of a ma and make not a stranger, d new-dweller among them (ac cording to the errous of othe Nations) to fuffer for the place of birth, which chance allowed him: foe with a simple and free love of vertex, they admire ex ceilent men (what countrymer focuer) without any entry, and are glad to see them this we in the riches of France. And for the reward of this humanity, they looke noe further then to publike praise in the first place; secondiy, to the fortune and fame of foe many strangers, who by noe vnworthy, nor vnprofitable adoption, are incorporated

to the French State. Nor neede fiele strargers to put of the thions of their owne country, I id imitate the garbe of France, e their carriage bee free from ride or barbaritme. For the veprofession of a forreine fashin will moone the defires of hat curious Nation, who with nore simplicity admire foreine then their owne customes; nfomuch as that some vices of ife, and blemishes of body, have seene there in esteeme, if srought from another country. For wee have teene the eloquence of a forreiner, even for the often errours of his tongue, hath beene more pleasing; and gained a great opinion of wifedome, because they were not vnderstood.

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The common people are true ly respective of the gentry, no out of feare, or institution onely and againe, their greatest no bility are by the same Genius honour'd by inferiour Gentlemen; but pride, or disdaine they cannot brooke; if thou wouldst seeme to domineere, they are ashamed to serue. A curteous behauiour, which by artificiall countenances, and gentle glances is expressed unto them, or by familiarity of difcourfe with them, will gaine to the Princes more officious feruants, then the greatnesse of their power and dignity can -doe. All wealth, and life it felfe is of lesse esteeme among them, then honour; especially, the Spirits of their great Princes doe often five out, both to their

wne damage, and their counries affliction, because the very xperience, and sense of pouery it selfe, can persivade none of hem to vndertake Merchanlife, or any profitable course of rade. They are pleased with a preposterous ambition, to amuate the greatnesse of their ancestors, and conceine it a disparagement to noble blood, to line in a calling like the common people. Soe the vaine name of Nobility, and foolish ostentatation of magnificent idlenesse, doth arme them with patience against the burthen of their cares, which doe never leave them before their death. This loftynesse of minde, although it please themselves, and seeme to bee farre from all basenesse, is often corrupted by almost neces E 4

necessary wickednesse, and raifes in their poore fortunes a turbulent industry, eyther by secret villanies, or publike commotions to striue to repell the

contempt of pouerty.

Merchandise is baselier esteemed of there, then besits a thing of soe great vtility, and which first did spread humanity throughall the world. Selon the samons Athenian Lawmaker, and most of the Gracians, which were samed to our eares, transported their commodities by such trassique into forreine countries, and acquainted their countrymen likewise with the riches of other lands.

Nor doth Italy distaine that custome, where the Noblest samilies by industrie in merchandise, doe heape up wealth. Brittany like wife accounteth not her blood of Gentry any way debased by such a calling.

But in France, not onely the ancient Gentry doe altogether dissaine this way of thriuing, but the merchants themselves, as if assained of their calling, when they are growne rich, doe bring up their sonnes in some other discipline, enjoying them, as it were, to looke higher then their sathers did.

But the high mindes of the French Nation are in nothing more perfectly discerned, then the cager pursuite of Magistracies, where the shamefull sale of them doth exclude the needy, how vertuous soemer.

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Tovndoe their families, to confume their estates and credits too, is not thought vnfit, to purchase an eminency about their equals, and repaire the ruines of their patrimony, eyther by a bare dignity, or by corruption and bribery in their offices. Nor is there any doubt, but that strange itch after titles and places, vnlesse of it selfe it doe abate, will at last defile all offices, gouernements, and judgment-seates, with men of the basest blood, and lowest dispositions. For many from the bafest trades, doe sooner arrive at great riches, then those who are noted of ancient Nobility, and liue according to the dignity of their birth. By this meanes of money onely, whileft they contend about the purchase. chase of a governement, or place of iustice, they doe most often carry it away, which are of bafest blood, and least ability in vaderstanding. Besides, the gentlemen of good descent are notice forward to throw away their estates upon such dignities, as upstarts are, who are halty with gold, to bring their children out of obscurity, & buy for their families that splendour of Nobility, which the ancient gentlemen, without any cost, doe challenge as a part of their inheritance. .

Soe by little and little, these honours may grow to bee onely in the possession of the basest men, and (being onely bought for money) by reason of their names, bee censured as a token of ignobility. Neither is the po-

licy of the royall exchequer to bre much acculed, an hough it encrease by the money of such officers. For who would not thinke it farre fitter, that those dignities should at a set rate be fold by the Prince, who vndergoes the burden of the State in generall, then secretly to bee made a prey to the couetoufnesse of the Noblemen, who doe oftentimes thrust officers vpon the King, whom they have beene bribed to commend, and what they freely obtaine from their master, they sell againe vn. to others? Soe that the commonwealth can have noe better choice of Magistrates by that meanes; and it is indifferent to those ambitious purchasers whither they suffer for their ambition from the King, or

from Noblemen; fince both waies tend equally to the ruine

of their estates.

These things therefore hauing beene suist instituted upon reatonable grounds, are now growne into extremity, by the madnesse of the buyers, who doe now exclude all vertue of but reasonable wealth, and at the rate of their whole estates purchase those dignities, whose price their owne madnesse has soe much enhaunsed.

But as wines, the more generous they will afterward grow, the more thicke of lees they will bee when they are young; foe the young men of this Nation, made for humanity, and wisedome in old age,

are carryed away with the greatest rashnesse, and wildnesse of behauiour. The young men are given to a strange freedome of bold iesting, and prouoking, both strangers, and their owne acquaintance, and enery where. affecting titles of too great fecurity. Vnconstant mindes, and eafily carryed away with any rumors; sometimes impatient of idlenesse, sometimes of businesse; a foolish oftentation and bragging of their lusts, more then by Nature they are enclined to; inconsiderate, and vndiscreete scoffings, which spare none. Their stirring, and hot affections impatient of rest. breake out into various and troublesome motions. But some of them in the beginning of all businesses, doe put on a fained

ned noe true wisedome, and therefore expressed with the greater shew: as if they were tempered with mature indgement, they put on a stay'd countenance, expressing subtlety ioyned with humanity, and vtter their words with long deliberation. To which according to the Nature of it, they have found out a name, calling it frigidity.

But that counterfeiting of vertue, is then altogether vn-pleafing, nor long can their cunning hide that leuity, which will shew it selfe in spite of all disguises. But the middle disposition betweene these two, which is not wanting in that Nation of the French, flowing with cheerfullnesse and capaciousnesse of minde, not bridled

too much with a fained gravity; is a disposition of transcendent excellency, and exactly framed to the image of wildome joined

with alacrity.

But one thing in the Natures of the French is very vnhappy, that that loue and curtefie, which in their owne countries they expresse even to strangers; abroad they will hardly shew to their owne countrymen. Who would believe; that people of foe great humanity, should not agree together in a forreine Land, Birds brought together into one cage forbeare to fight with each other; and beafts which wander out of thewoods together to feeke prey, by the ellowship of their fate are continued of Mindes.

in lone and amity. Onely the Frenchmen, when they connerse in another land, especially if they bee poore, and seeke reliefe by the sernice of a forreine State, loc quarrell among themselnes with a most crueil amulation.

How many secret scoff-s, vnseemely enuies, professed quarrels, and ridiculous contentions,
citing each other before forreyne Magistrates, doe arise among them? contending in
this manner among themselues,
they cast an insamous aspersion vpon their Nation, as if they
were a people borne to enuy,
incapable of quiet, or of that
love, wherewith Nature hath
secretly combined the Citizens
of one country.

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This fault of the Frenchmen in forreyne countries is more cruelly raging in the bowels of their owne land; where in all places, like fwordplayers condemned to the theater, vpon suddaine and rash quarrels, they violently hazard their lines in fingle duells. A most horrid thing ! a miserable opprobry of these times! a slight quarrell, arifing onely out of ambition of argument, or an innocent iest, or oftentimes onely a thirst of fame in turbulent dispositions doth hurry with violence the mad young men into most mile. rable flaughters, and vtter extinguishing of Noble families. From hence, foe often are the purposes of miserable parents intercepted, and their hopes vtterly lost; and peace almost in vaine :

vaine established in France; as much Noble blood shed (well nigh) in these private combates,... as in time of a publike warre. What madnesse is this? after. the manner of beafts, not with reason, but choller, to reuenge their injuries, and put the judgement of their greatest matters vpon the tryall of a stage art and fortune, which often deceiues the skilfulest in that art? that wholoeuer can most fortunately fight, should make himselfe the instest quarrell? wilde Nations, which came among vs from barbarisme it selfe, did not long agoe infect the world with their brutish manners. They were the first beginners of a custom, that vpon doubtfull titles of estate, where the proofes were obscure on both sides, the causo

cause by a combate should bee decided. The combatants did meete in an open Circk, or stage, and hee that was vanquished, was judged to have the worfe cause. From thence the originall of this madnesse proceeded, which doth now infelt the age, and going beyond the first bounds, as then it was onely at the disposing of the Magistrate, it now rageth licentionfly according to the humors and chollers of private men.

But the pretence for this swordplay, whither more accepted for the show, or profit of it, is the furtherence of skill in fighting. For who can deny, that a skillfull art of striking with the sword, or a 10 j ding the blowes, which were aimed at him, is a thing appertaining to the

milita-

military art? this the Gracians, the Remanes, and every Nation bardy in armes, have fought atter, with great intention.

But now they fight, not as encloted and itraightned in the prefle of an army (as warrs are made)but as it were in the freedome of an open theater; they trane fe their ground, they shift their bodies with all agility, and by faile proffers of the hand, and glances of the eye, they deceive each other, and doe rather (as every man may fer) enable their murderous crus elty vpon private hatreds, then instruct themselves in a pious valour for defence of their country and now their rage, even betweene friends and kindred, fulfilleth the height of

madnelle and all impiety. Kimmen and most familiar acquaintance vpon noe heinous insuries but vaine exceptions at ide wordes, or almost for nothing, are engaged in quartels and embrued in each others blood: and which you may justily centur the highest degree of madnesse, they fight, not onely upon their owne inturies, but wickedly enterpose themselves into the quarrels of others, and engaged in hatreds, which belong not vnto them, they facrifice themselves, and the dearest of their friends. For they freely goe, when by those men, which are to fight, and are loth to die alone, they are insited to this mortall play as it were to a inpper or recreation; and there doe not doubt to violate whatfoever should

be necre and deare to man; out of a most foolish desire of same, that they may bee sayd with a great contempt of life to haue gon into the field; that is, to haue undertaken a most horrid cruelty, out of a barbarous ignorance of true valour.

But these enils, and whatsoeuer else haue crept into the dispositions of the French, may be well excused, for the vertues of those men whom the maturity of age, or weight of judgement doth soetemper, as that they are not carryed away with their country-vices. There is in them a wonderfull curtesie, not seigned, nor trecherous, to ensnare them whom they court with friendship; they are free from deceit, and secret hatreds; they are free to entertaine all, who defire

desire their acquaintance, and society; and respectine of all men according to their degrees and rankes.

It is enough for a forreiner, which is admitted into their company, to preserue their friendship, if he keepe himselfe from open villany, and too abfurd folly; soe that in other places thou had'ft neede haue a care of other mens dispositions, least they burt thee: but among true, and accomplished Frenchmen, to keepe thy felfe from giving offence. Nor is their any thing more happy in humane lociety, then the manly

sweetnesse or such com-

pleat company.

The Fourth Chapter.

BRITTAINE.

The greatnesse of Brittaine large extent, and exposed to many and different seas) may be rather esteemed by the seucral and vnlike manners of her inhabitants, then by the names and harbonrs of soe many shores: As if in the Ocean Brittaine alone were another world all kinde of dispositions are to bee found in her inhabitants.

There is not a fayrer Island in the whole world. Sicily, Crete, and Cyprus, though they have all carryed the state, and names of Kingdomes,

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if they were all joyned into one body, were not able, eyther in circuit, or wealth, to equal Brittaine. Being in former times a valiant Nation, they gave occasion of many fabulous stories. which by forreyne wits, and languages were commonly written and read; as if nothing could be fained foe strange, bur might be atchieued by the people of Brittaine: it was once dinided into nine Kingdomes. But afterward by continuall warrs, and frequent leagues, those Monarchies, and their bounds were often changed; untill at the last, the whole Island became subject to three Princes. The colonyes of Saxony whom we call English, are gathered together vnder the felicity of one scepter: the reliques

of the old Brittaines, which con-Stantly cleave to the Cambrian Mountaines, and are called Welshmen: Thirdly, the Scots, inhabiting the North part of the Island, to whom a remnant of the Pills, who were almost rooted out, have joyned themflues. But Wales in a short time vnable in warre to relist the strength of all England, was joyned to that scepter. The Scots though despairing euer to bee able to conquer England, yet difdaining to yeeld vnto it as an argument of lasting amulation. contended with the English, not more stiffely by warre, then by a different and auerse. Nature from them: vntill the fates condemning at last this pernicions amulation, conjoyned them both under one King, by whose spirit

spirit, as it were, the whole

body.

England abounding in rich pastures, and ground fruitfull in procreation of diuerle, and different trees, doth enery where delight the eyes of the beholders with a most beautifull verdancy: the easie and free encrease of fruite doth nourish the floth of the common people. The fertile, and fat grounds doe enery where yeild fuch abundance of pasture for horses, and bullocks, as furficeth the perpetuall greedinesse of those beafts in other places, where the ground is dryer, and clothed with short grasse, it feedeth innumerable flockes of sheepe, excusing the barrennesse of the foile with an incre-

dible profit, which is made of wooll; nor the sharpnes of winter (vnlesse perchance it proone harder then vsuall a doth drine their cattell, which are euer accustomed to the open ayre, into stalls or houses. They are viually contented with open sleepes in the cold fields, and fuch pafture as the moderate warmth of the winter doth nourish. For the winters are not there so sharpe as the climate, and neerencile of the North would make vs imagine, when in France where it is neerely opposite to the coast of Rrutaine, the winters are extreme, and much more rigid in the ayre of Holland.

Info great an indulgence and favour of the ayre, the grounds of Brittaine doe with great case receive, and foster the

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feedes

feedes of all fruite.

They have tall Baytrees, and Rosemary, which is pretious in many countries, by reason of the care in planting and preferuing of it, is there common, and growing oftentimes in hedges, as a fence for gardens. The country is able to foster vines, and bring grapes to full ripenesse. For the pleasant & fruitfull mountaines of Kent, and Hamp-Shire, with other places situated to the South, or East, had heretofore vin. yards, which afterwards they omitted to cherish, by reason of the commodity of pasture there, and the cheapnesse of wine transported from Aquitaine. Wolues also are rooted out of that part of the country, and doe not vexe the flocks of Sheepe, which freely graze, and often times without

the guard of a dogge.

For the diligence of their forefathers, when the rage of wolue's was exceeding fierce, and deceined or wearied the care of the shepheards, rooted out by great industry the whole race of them; foe that the hardinesse of their cattell, which are able to endure the open ayre in all seasons, and the destruction of wolues, doe bring vnto the people an inestimable wealth. The inhabitants at case, and almost forgetting labour, doe grow rich in victuals, hides, and fleeces, as benefits which the ground of her owne bounty doth bestow vpon them. They scarce take any paines at all in nourishing of saffron, whereof they have store, and F 4 exceeding

exceeding good; the herbe it selfe, not in reward of care, and industry, but of her owne accord, opening and offering her treasure to them. And that nothing might be wanting to foe prosperous a fortune, they have felt noe inuation of forreyne fouldiers for many ages: homebred commotions in this age are very seldome: neither doe warrs ever lorg cortinue in England as in other Lands. In the compasse of eight dayes, many times are great infurrections begun and ended. They warre with men, not with houses, and goods; and commotions, but fresh, and newly risen, are suddainly decided in let battells.

By reason of wealth so easily accrewing, the carelesse, and

rich common people, are not à little puffed vp. Soe that neyther (according to the vie of other Nations (doe they humbly reverence the dignity of their Nobles, nor are they industrious, or skillfull in handycrafts by reason lof their case, and plenty. For those that are bound to any trade, doe for the most part finish their apprentiship in seanen yeares; after which time they are free of the company, and then, as if themselues were exempted from labour, they take other apprentices to be under them: who after a short learning are employed asiourneymen. They themselves, not onely on solemne, and festivall daies, but euery holy-day (who would beleeue it?) doe freely take their recreation

ation and pleasure, if it be faire weather, in thefields adioyning, or ifit be rainy, are merry in tauernes. Which causeth a dull and vnskillfull trading, trufted to the knowledge of their apprentices, and the buyers are more peremptorily raised to greater prices, that the worke of the apprentices, and the idlenesse of the Masters may be see maintained. But yes notwithstanding, some kindes of workmanship wrought both with industry and most exact skill, and highly prized through the whole world, doe sufficiently declare, that in that country there is noe fault in the climate, to dull their wits, but too much abundance to make them idle. For as for the stirring vp of wits, and cherishing of Arts,

uernment is not at all good, too much depressing the mindes of the people, and dulling them with despaire; soe too plentifult, and wanton a fortune, which intendeth labour, but onely, as it were, in recreation, and sport, can neuer raise the industry and ability of the common people, to an exact diligence, and skill in Arts.

There are not tributes payed any where in that great Kingdome, nor stations of Publicans in Cities, or the passages of bridges, except only in those places, where shipping is set forth into forreyne countries.

For they are strictly tyed to make acknowledgement vnto those, who are farmers of the Kings customs, of all Merchan-

dife

dise whatsoeuer is brought into the Kingdome, or carried

out.)

But the pride of the common people is not more bitter, and distassfull towards strangers, then towards their owne gentry, who account themselues equal almost to the best and ancientest of them. By which pride of the clownes, the gentlemen doe suffer in some fort for the richnesse of their country, and are brought almost into an hatred of that pretious cause of their indignation.

They are all in generall great honorers of the Nobility, which is confined within the small number of those whom they call Lords. Those are, Dukes, Marquesses, Earles, and

Barons

Barons: all the sonnes of Dukes and Marquesses, and the eldest fonnesiot Earles; in equall honour with these the piety of their ancestors hath placed Bishops. To these Noblemen it is not thought a disparagement, for any to stoope to the lowest service; and the Nobles vnderstand well enough, that the people feated, as it were on the ground, doe behold with admiration their height, nor are those dignities bought by the common people for money, but descend to their heires by right of inheritance, or new Noblemen by the grant of the King. are advanced linto those degrees; and that you may not thinke it a vaine title, many Lawes and priviledges doe encrease the respect of those high For names.

For if it happen that a Lord be in debt, and not able to pay, the creditours can have no law to attach his body; though the bodies of other debrors, euen before judgement, are imprisoned in England. But this is a greater and more glorious priunledge, that Noblemen being accused of the greatest crimes, as namely treason to their country, are notwithstanding free from the racke; the makers of the law would not have it imagined, that truth, if not otherwife, could bee forced from them, by racking or torment.

The English are for the most part graue, of retired spirits, and nt for counsell; they admire themselves, and the manners, wits, and dispositions of

their owne Nation. When they falute, or write letters, they scorne to descend to complements of feined seruice, which the flattery of these ages have brought vp, vnleffe it be those, which are infected with forreyne behauiour. The people are studious of sea-businesse: nor is there any stronger defence of that great I fland then the diligence of foe many faylers. They are as good fouldiers by land as by sea, especially when they are accustomed to another ayre, and haue tasted of forreyne diet, which whilest it is nouelty to them, they affect with too much greeding ffe

For those inconveniences of gurmundizing, have beene often the consumption of armies brought from Brittaine. And

when.

when that Nauy, which was fent by Queene Elizabeth, arriued on the shores of Portugall, and had wasted the country, and defeated their enemies, the immoderate heate, and the fweetenesse of apples, and berries, which that climate afforded, destroyed almost the whole army. They contemne all dangers, and death it felfe, with more courage, then judgment; and hence lit comes, that they are the best fouldiers, when they are gouerned by wife captaines; but when they goe on of their owne accord, possessed with the blindnesse of that desperate valour, they haue reason, after sad deseates to accuse themselves more then their ill fortune. In the late warrs of the Low-countries; fome : some souldiers of the Spanish party were taken by the Hollanders, and were to be hanged, in requirall of the enemies cruelty, who had vsed their prifoners in the like minner. Bit the Hollanders did not intend to execute them all. Of foure and twenty (for foe many were taken prisoners) eight onely were appointed to bee hanged, and the rest to escape with life. . There were lots therefore throwne into a helmet, and the prisoners were commanded to draw their fortunes, wholocuer should draw a blanke, was to escape death; but whofoeuer flould draw a blacke lot, was to bee hanged presently. They were all posfessed with a great apprehenfion of their present danger!: esoccially :

especially one Spaniard with pittifull wishes, and teares, in some of the standers by, did mooue pity, in others laughter: There was besides in that danger, a certaine Englishman, a common fouldier, who with a carelesse countenance, expresfing noe feare of death at all, came bold'y to the helmet, and drew his lot; chance fauoured him; it was a safe lor. Being free himfelfe from danger, hee came to the Spaniard, who was yet timorous, and trembled to put his hand into the fatall helmer; and receiving from him ten crownes, hee entreated the Iudges (oh horrid audacity!) that dismissing the Spaniard, they would suffer him againe to try his fortune. The ludges consented to the mad mans

request, who valewed his life at so low a rate; and he againe drew a safe lot; a wretch vnworthy not onely of that double, but even of a single preservation, who soe basely had vndervalewed his life.

The Lawes, which the English vse, were delivered them by the Norman Conquerors in the French tongue, but obsolete, and differing from the language which is now spoken. They are few, and very ambiguous. Much dependeth vpon custome, and the opinions of ludges; foe that a great way is left open to contentions, to an infinite power of Indges, and the close dispositions of the people, who seeme to retaine the fashions, as it were, of their Norman originall; doe

open themselves in subtleties, which fill the courts with perpetuall wranglings. From whence I thinke that common sable tooke first originall, that the Englishmen had long tailes.

They endure with foe constant a patience all customes and lawes, which were anciently deliuered vnto them from. their ancestors, that they account it a heynous matter now to a'ter, or abrogate any law, which was heretofore established, eyther by reason of the sarity of delinquents, or innocence of the Lawmakers. For from what reason, but the vnwary goodnesse of their ancestors, comes this law to stand in sorce, that a husband is commanded to father a child

and receive him for his heire, though hee were borne a yeare or more after the time, that he accompanyed with his wife; foe it be proued, that hee lived that time within the shores of Brittaine.

But in Philosophy, and the Mathematicks, in Geography. and Astronomy, there is noe opinion foe prodigious and strange, but in that Island was eyther inuented, or has found many followers, and fubtile maintainers, but such asthrough tædious disputations cannot plainely state the question, which they would seeme to vphold: That the Earth is mooued round, and not the Heauens: that the Sunne, with the Planets, and all the other Starrs are not mooued in their globes calefliall; that there are no such globes at all; and lastly, what soener any doating Philosopher hath here-tofore broached, some of them do either hold, or would seeme to do: as if then they were more deeply wise then common men, when they neglect and slight the ordinary wisdome as poore and low, and search deeper into the secrets of Nature, which sew are able to apprehend.

But as nothing do h more deepely worke vpon the minds of men, then points of religion; foe in noe disputations are they more vehement then in those. In the worship of God, what religion socuer they choose to themselues, they runeuer into extremes. In the former ages, their richest men leaving the world, betooke themselues by

oath into folitary places, and Hermitages; foe that the best part of the Lands of the Kingdome were bestowed vpon fuch devotion, with too timorous and dangerous a vow, both to the giners and receivers of those Lands; for the givers too much exhausted the commonwealth, and the receivers fuffering themselues (as it were by the fault of fortune) to fall into luxury, did afterwards draw a great enuy, not onely vpon themselues, but the religion which they professed. This kinde of denotion is now publikely banished out of all England; and many of them are foe much turned to the contrary fide, that the farther they tread from the steps of their forefathers, formuch the neerer they thinke

110 The Mirrour

thinke themselues to Hea-

· Nor is that the publike opinion of the State, nor any way fafe for them, if the Magistrates finde it; but of private spirits deluded by superstition, inuenting to themselnes a new religion of their owne, and therefore the more pleasing. Therefore all those, which are once possessed with this pleafing pride of understanding more then others in religion, are divided into divers sects and names; and have diverse Lawes and rites established among them, neither by the authority of the men, nor the number of them, but onely by wilfull obstinacy; and that which is most worthy of pity and laughter is this; that with cruell cruell centures these sects doe persecute one another: holding that they onely are the children of God, and all other reprobates. It hapened one time, that a plaine fellow one of the common people (whither you esteeme the common people by the meaneffe of their estares. or of their wit and education) and two of his sonnes were of one faith in a superstition of their owne. These three men (as often times those religions confift of noe greater number) did make a fect and Church by themselues. At last, disputing too hotly in divinity among hemselues, they fell at discord: the father forfooke his fonnes. not because hee had found out better, but different opinions: and was therefore by his fonns (for foethole fooles called it) G exclu-

excluded out of their communion of Saints: in the meane time, they thought, there were noe other Saints in the world but themselves. But presently after, the two brothers falling at variance, one of them excommunicated the other; foc that soe little a Church consifling onely of three persons, was at last divided into three Churches. A most prodigious mischiese, and prone to ali madnesse :nor will they slightly maintaine the madnesse of their owne dreames. Many new ices are enery day cited before the Judgement feates, in whom the Indges can finde nothing agree ing with each other, but onely a wilfull obstinacy. They hold abominable opinions vnworthy of men, and are authors of their

their owne superstition, missed by noe predecessour, they teare noe tortures; but refusing to be gouerned by any wisedome or wholesomeaduise, they will endure the fire, and facrifice themselues to their owne madnesse. Butstrangers that converse with that Nation, must take heede, that they doe not cenfure the country in generall, by the behauiour of a few, and those perchance of the common people; nor is it easie to learne, what behauiour is fitting among natures foe much differing. The common people heated eyther with wine, or choller, are oftentimes forward to abule strangers: in such a swelling fury of theirs, it were a little more then madnesse to prouoke them by the like fur-

3 2 linesse;

linesse; nor is it then a fit seafon, when a tumult is raised, to pleadethy excuse with confidence, much lesse to expresse courage in defending thy felfe. By a gentle speech thou mayest better disarme their fierceneffe; they must be base and low entreaties, which must asswage the fury of their first affault. For this torrent if it bee opposed by noe resistance, will languish in a moment, and become quiet. This warinesse, and timorous wisedome is onely to be vsed in Townes, or publike fields, where a concourse of people to fide with them, that did first abuse thee, is eyther gathered already, or presently to be expected. But in private places, and where thy party would not proone too much

vnequall, then bee fure to exprese (at least in shew) a bold spirit not brooking injuries; by which meanes, thou wilt terrifie them, which doe not infult, out of true valour, but are as ready to receive, as to offer wrong. The Magistrates and Iudges, are fauourable to the complaints of strangers, and forward to punish the people, which doe them wrong; vnlesse it bee a multitude that doe offend, whom it is easie to blame; but hard, and for the most part too much cruelty to punish. And soe wendrer sly hospitable are the seares of Inflice in that Nation, that if a Aranger offend, hee shall finde them fauourable: or if ithappen, that a stranger, and an English-G 3

men be both guilty of one fact, which deserneth, eyther the whip, or the gallowes, the Aranger many times is no fur ther punished, but onely commanded to depart the Kingdome. The gentlemen are naturally enclined to a kinde entertainment of all strangers. and are worthily ambitious in fuch curtesies. Soe that no man, vileffe of a froward and barbarous disposition, and altogether vnworthy of Noble company, can repent himselfe of trauelling into England.

Among those Noblemen, whose carriage is graue, and their speech and gesture fitted to their dignity, you must comply with an answerable granity, and amulation, as it were, of maiesty; least they perchance

chance should vnderualue you, from their owne granity, and your speech, which must not beeto them in a soothing manner, like the *Italian* and *French* humility; you will otherwise carry a lower estimation among those men, who accustome not themselues vnto affected humanity, and lying

complements.

To the Northern parts of England, Scerland adioyneth, governed by a scepter of incredible antiquity, compared with other Kingdomes: for the crowne of Scerland above twenty ages hath endured in the possession of one Family. An hundred and twenty Kings have successively reigned from Fergusius the First, to lames that now is; who to so anci-

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ene

Royalty of England, is the first, that combined the Kingdomes, and reigneth entirely our all Brittaine.

The Scots are of dispositions fitted for fociety; of behaviour, and geftures of the body, excelling other Nations, and like vnto the French in all things, but . the riches of their country. For the country Northward is in many places not fit for tillage, and full of barren mountaines; neyther are those mountaines clothed with woods, vnlesse. iome, which are rayled into a fharper climate, and giue a woody and barbarous name to the inhabitants. Yet Nature hath bestowed vpon those hardy people, abundance of victuall in fowle, and wilde beafts befides

besides their flocks, and hear ds of cattell. It is a fight vfuall, to fee three hundred red Deere, or more in one heard. But the inhabitants can rowze farre greater heards, when the Noblemen are pleased to hunc there. Neither doe they want comodities in their country fit to exchange for forreyne merchandiles, which are transported thither of necessary vse. But the scarcity of money by no art or industry can be redressed, soe that they which in their owne courstry doe live in plenty, and with great attendance, are not able in orreine parts to maintaine their port. But noe people are more mindefull of their pedigrees then they; that they had rather fomerimes differace their Family by their poucrty, then conceale

the vnfeafonable expressing of their titles, or not mention their kindred. For it is necesfary in a country more populous, then fruitfull, that some of Noble blood should bee borne to extreme pouerty. Soethat the Scots dispersed into many countries to get their liuing, f and none are more faithfull and industrious then they) being still eager in publishing their Nobility, are often laughed at by the hearers, then beleeued or pittied.

But the people couragious also against themselves, are diuided by many and sierce ensnities, and cruell to each other, beyond all lawes of humanity or hatred. For being divided by Families, and Names, they hold those as Princes of

their

their factions, which possesso the most ancient inheritance of the Family. To those menthey are wonderoufly observant. with a lone as great almost, as to their country it selfe; tothem, when they are wronged. they flie for fuccour, vling the patronage, and strength of their owne Family. By this meanes is has happened, that finall quare rells betwixt men of obscu e condition, have beene the caufes of great and horrible commotions. For they that have quarrelled, complayning on both sides to the Princes of their Kindred, have turned their private wrongs into the iniuries of whole families. Nor. are these differences decided with little blood; for sometimes gathered into troopes,

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and almost into instarmies, they fight it out; and thefe enmities continue to their heires after them. They thinke it glorious, to revenge murder with murder, and hire with fire. Nor doe they alwayes deale by open force, but by fnares and treacheries. Nothing can bee base or ignoble to them, who can "cure their eyes onely by the miseries of their enemies. And rhis mischiefe has often beene the ouerthrow of Noblemen, who have eyther beene saine in fight; or else vndone in their estates, by keeping such multitudes of fervants and tenants about them (for foe it was necessary for feare of suddaine affaults from their enemies) whilest their Lands have lyen untilled, and walt. And some hauc ...

hauethought, that the scarcity of wood in the country, has beene caused by these enmitties; whilest their cruell people on both fides have burnt vp. their enemies woods, and revenged their private injuries with the devastation of their country. But these things heretofore were more to bee bewailed, when they were euery where rife; now, fince wee fee it other wife; wee may cherish hereafter better hopes: Por alshough heretofore, it lay not in the power of the Kings, to remedy foe great a mischiefe, when the Nobles by the faithfulnesse & number of their clients were more fierce and strong; yet the now reigning King, lames of Brittaine, has at lall bellowed this benefit upon his country. Hee.

Hee whilest hee was yet King of Scotland onely, esteemed the cause of this great mischiefe, one of the greatest cares belonging to his Kingdome. But hee was loath to apply a remedy to it by parts; which had beene altogether vaine : for noe one difference could euer haue beene quieted in true peace, vnlesse all had beene compounded together. For the examples of flich crimes, and par, dons for them (which were necessary in those times) would haue encouraged others to the fame andacity; especially, least they should seeme to have borne a fearefull, and degenerate anger. Hee therefore thought it best at once, and for euer, to compound these deadly feuds.

The

The King therefore tooke a diligent account of those, whose Familyes were engaged in such quarrells, and partly in his owne person, partly by the mediation of hischiefe Countellers, by entreaties, and author rity, he soe reconciled them all, that the bitternesse of a mischiefe foe long vsed was scarce any more named among them : a great and admirable worke of a most wise and industrious King, yet not performed without much time and wonderfull felicity.

Two yeares after hee had thus appealed Scotland, hee was called to the succession of the crowne of England; a great happynesse for the strengthening of this amity among the Scots, who now with a fitting,

and

and wholesome awe doe honour their King, soe much encreased in power and strength.

The Score are fuddaine, and violent in vndertaking any thing, which their hopes perswade them to ; and they easily give credit to any hopes. They are suddainely mooned to anger, which after the first fieis soone asswaged. They are better at getting of wealth then keeping it: éythei because their mindes greater then their fortunes, are much enclined to inconsiderate bounty, and love the fame, more then the possession of riches; or else deceined by the quality of their owne country, when they have a tained to fuch a fumme of money as would make them rich for cuer in Scotland, they grow

too secure of future pouerty, and doe not understand, that in enery Land, the expences, and prices of things, are answerable to the plenty of gold and filuer; soe that a great quantity of money can hardly bee gotten in any place, but such as is vsedto great expences. What studies soeuer they encline to, they prosper in them with wonderfull successe. None are more patient of military duties, nor none more valiant in fight. then they, nor doe the Muses euer appeare more beautifoll, then when they inspire the breafts of Scots. They are capable also of city-businesse, and can fit their industry to any kinde eyther of life or fortune.

But those that trauell, or rather wander in a poore fashion and rely vpon no other meanes, then going to the houses of their countrymen, which are growne rich in other Lands, and demand, as it were, the tribute of their country, are most intollerable in their proud beg-

gery.

Ireland, by the ancient Latines called lerna, and now Hy. bernia, is an Island not far from Brittaine, and subject to the crowne of England; a great and spacious Island. commodious for thipping, by reason of many hauens; nor is it to bee censured by the barbarisme and fordid living of many of the inhabitants; for the fruitfulineise of it inuiteth many colonies Out of England, and Scotland to come thither. It is of a moyst ayre, but yet wholesome, and

mortail to any venomous creatures. Newers and Toades, if they bee brought thither, will not liue. The wood transported from thence noe age nor neglect will make worme-eaten, northung with spiderscobwebs although the Irish have their spiders, but harmelesse, and free from venome. The beames, rafters, and boordings of Westminster-hall, where the Courts of Iustice sit, are made of that wood; and there (a wonderfull thing!) the walls round about are filled with spiders, but none of those fordid nets are foread vponthe wood.

The Irish, which live not in Townes, or civill places, are wonderfull hardy in enduring any ayre, or diet, by reason of ong and accustomed poverty.

They

They can satisfie their hunger with any victuals gotten on the suddaine; as venison, or beefe halfe-raw. They temper their meate with milke. They build brittle and weake houses about the height of a man, where themselves and their cattell line together. But this in those people is a thing to be wondred at : the love of floth and ease, doth soften the courages of other Nations, but maketh the Irish valiant in warre. For by reason of their floth, though their fields are fertile, yet tilling and sowing are things almost vnknowne to them. They are content with that graffe, which the ground yeeldeth of her owne accord for pasture, for their cartell. They exercise noe handycrafts

dycrafts, for feare of disparaging that Nobility, which they foe highly boast of. Soe in a fordid, and hithy idlenesse, they lead their lines, and had rather cure by patience, then industry, the discommodities which are daily companions of their barbarous living; and foe farreare they from knowing delight, as they feele not want and mifery. In one fingle garment they endure both wet and cold; by often hunting, they grow wonderfull Twift in running, equalling almost the wild beasts; when they are weary, or benighted, the ground ferues them for a lodging, and couered with snow, or wet with showres, yet they are sooner raised by fatiety of fleeping, then by the iniury of

the weather, excellent rudiments of warre and valour, if they did not proceede from fuch filthy floth. This beaftlynesse, in time of peace also, neyther the fellowships of the English, nor the amulation of the Spanish fashions, can make them to shake off; but they love this life foe full offordid discommodities, as free from cares, allured by a wicked shadow of liberty. which in different kindes has fouly deceived diverse Nati-Ons.

They are obstinate in their owne vices, haters of labour, and soe of all profit; but very industrious, in theeuing, and freebooting, or any paines, which is like to hunting. And these are the stothfull miseries

of the common people. The Noblemen are many of them very faithfull, of braue mindes, nurtured in all vertues that befit their dignities.

Those alsoe that live in Citties or the pleasantest parts of the Kingdome, are adorned with great humanity; and declare by this, that those wilde

Irish are barbarous by their owne willfullnesse, and not borne to that wice, by the fate of the Island.

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The bound of the column of the

The Fift Chapter.

GERMANT.

The River R bens arising from the toote of the Alpes, and flowing along the borders of the Low-countries, doth there fall into the Ocean. It was once the bound of Germany; but now by the charges of Names and Empires, the limits of Germany being encreased, it may bee sayd to run through it.

Germany is aspacious country, reaching from the Alpes and France, as farre as Sarmatia and Pannonia, divided into many principalities and commonwealths. It was once full of woods and wild inhabitants,

bet

but now beautified euery where with faire Townes; the woods which were once great, and orespread the country, are now reduced to vie and ornament. It nourisheth vines in that part, where it bordereth vpon Italy, and where it declineth towards Pannonia, as likewise vpon those hils which ouershadow the Rhene; and some few places besides, where the ground by fauour of some hils, and warmth of the rivers. is fitted forthat purpose. The cold grounds in their mountaines abound with firre trees, and other woods. Ifter, the Prince of rivers in Europe, doth cut almost through the midst of Germany, and rifes in a sea-like channell, to the yearely ruine of bridges there.

whose .

whose bankes are beautified with famous cities, but too few for the greatnesse of loc noble a river. Rhene, Albu, and many rivers famous in old times doe flow through all the breadth of Germany. The country is full of good lines on that side where the Alpes bound it, and all along the course of Ister; in those places also where Rhene runnes, and Manis with the Maze, encreases of foe great a river : but that side of the country which lyes toward the Ocean and the inner Land, remooued from the famous and publike rodes, for nafty Innes, and fordid manner of living in generall, retaineth much of that Genius which Ancient Writershaue ascribed to it. Yet there are cities not

vnworthy of fame: the market-places and streets especially exactly handsome; the houses of losty and even structure, the frailer parts of the building co-

nered with paintings.

The inner parts of their houses are not with like skill fitted for vie; their beds are placed in the remote, and (for the most part) obscure places of the house. They doe not vse lightly any chimneyes at all. They had rather vse certaine little stones to expell the cold, which are made in the chamber-walls, and fire put into them according as the quality of the weather requireth. But this heat is many times troublesoine to strangers; for it maketh their heads heavy with vnusuall vapours, and when they goe out from H 2 tl enc

thence, their bodies being chilly, and the pores opened, are not able to endure the ayre. Besides, when the fire begins to be remitted, these kinde of hot-houses have ill'sauours : especially those, which belong to their dining roomes, where the confused vapours of soe many forts of meatedoe fill the ayre, and foe much wine is drunke, and spilled. And not onely in those hor-houses, but in other chambers and parlours also, are many of the Gera manes too flouenly, and careleffe; infomuch that strangers, when they come thither, can hardly brooke the ayre of those roomes. That Nation is infected with a wonderfull lone of drinking, which now is a confeffed vice, and therefore the more freely vsed. Nor is this

bar-

barbarons drunkennesse vsed as a pleasure onely, but growne into a part of their behaulour and discipline; the fauours of some of their Princes are purchased onely by this base price, when the Princes doe seeke some cópanions in their vices, or purpose to entertaine Embaffadours and strangers with the fieest hospitality. For the Germanes thinke, there can bee noe entertainment foe pleafing to a stranger as a long, & drunken banquet; and thinke themselves never truely welcome to another mans house, valesse he that inuited them bee wondrous forward in making both them & himselfe drunke. That is the chiefest vrbanity there, and in nature of a league vpon the first acquaintance.

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It hapened on a time, that some Duscb regiments of souldiers were entertaine in France, and commanded by Colonels of their owne Nation:a Nobleman of France innited one of these Germane Colonels to Supper, knowing how deare a league of friend-Thip might bee made with a Germane in drinke : hee prouoked him therefore to mirth, with store of wine, and many formes and deuices of drinking there were. At last, the Germane, eyther to make tryall, how freely welcome he was to the French Lord, or else greeued, that the drinking match went foe flowly forward, and feeking a glorious victory, hee challenges the Frenchman to pledge him, and begins to him

a cup of great measure; the Frenchman nothing affrighted (to all our wonder) rifes vp; mobile guest (quorh hee) that thou mayst know thou were innited to a friend, I will not onely pledge what thou haft drunke, but in a louing quarrell, challenge thee to pledge me as much more. With these words. hee pledges the Germane Colonell at one draught, and filling the same cup againe for his guests fake, though his belly fwelled, he dranke it off to him. The Colonell wonderfully taken with foe great an expresfion of love, rifes vp (though hee could hardly stand) noble fir (quoth hee) doe not thinke this loue is bestowed vpon an wnthankfull man; you know, Thaue noe small regiment of H 4! fouldiers

fouldiers vnder my command. Their entertainment for two whole moneths shall cost you pothing, fince I know your treasurie these hard times is much exhausted. After these two moneths, if it please you, and that you be well able, they shall take entertainment againe. At soe great a requitall of one carouse, we were all amazed for the prefent, but much more, when the Colonell performed his promise. Among these people plaine and open behauiour is most pleafing, and fuch as first gaue to . Bacobus the name of freedome. They have all kinde of hidden fubtlety; eyther because, that they themselves loosened by drinke, cannot firmely keepe a secret in; or because their mindes

mindes in fuch bodies know themselves to be dull, and are cuer suspitious of the subtleties of other men as bent against them, and aiming to o. uerreachthem. The Magistrates of their commonwealths, chofen from among their fellowcitizens, bring to the Tribunall noe mindes adorned with high parts; but cleane fast to the inititutions of their fathers, with an efficacious diligence. The people are very obedient to those that gouerne them', and will often giue credit to their Magistrates, euen in poynts of religion. And you shall hardly fee any prinate man what foeuer, ga nesay any rites of religion, which the Prince, or commonwealth have approoned of those mischiefes, which HS

haue troubled England and France for a long time, the (I had almost fayd) selicity of this milerable carelessnesse hath.

quite auoyded.

Yet I must except Anftria, which lyeth almost out of the Germaneclimate, & hath not yet loft her ancient Nature, though The have changed her name (for Austria in old times was accounted a part of Pannonia.) And Bohemia also, not in this age alone, divided in it selfe by most vnhappy contentions about religion ; but Bohemia, though it bee situated in the bosome of Germany, is divided from the body of it, in language, in manners, and different Lawes. Learning in many places of Germany doth flourish; but the men are more defirous to reach of Mindes.

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write more, then to learne. They write more, then they reade; and value their reputation, by the number and greatnesse of the volumes which they publish in

print.

Their wits, as they are darke and dull, foe are they ftrong to endure endlesse toyle, soethat others may bee able to understand better, but they to viderstand more. Many of their Noblemen, who contented with their owne wealth and manners haue onely seene, and doconely admire their natine Germany, though in their owne judgements they feeme endued with graue wisedome, yet want much of the humanity of our age. Their words are much of the old stampe, and their learning wanterh the dresse and co-

lours of later wisedome. They are desirous of tranell, and great counterfeiters, or retainers of forreyne behauiour, vntill they returne home into their owne country. It is not viuall for strangers, to dwelllong, or rise to preferment inthat country; and the name of a forreyner is almost accounted a word of difgrace among them. Germany oppressed with these: manners, is notwithstanding recompenced againe by other excellent endowments, and manly vertues. Treachery is a thinge vnknowneamong them, yea euen in hired fouldiers of that Nation. Noe deceitfull cunning, or hatred, lurketh vnder the titles of friendship; and the simplicity of that modest people is altogether vaskilfull

in great villanies. They are lit tle given to lust, and that in great secret; their youths boast not of ir, like some other Nations, as a pride and sport; for the men of Germany are as farie from that almost, as the accustomed modelty of women. But wisedome, as it findes not often there subtle and sharpe heads to entertaine it, by whose cunning it may bec drawae neere to deceit : foe it many times findeth true and mature judgements to rest vpon, who can easily bee prouident in their owne affaires, and contemne the errours of other men. There are among them losty mindes, in whom the felicity of a lively and raised spirit, doth well temper their naturall granity; especially if they

have long feafoned that ability of wit with forreyne arts and manners. The Nation, though valiant in warre, can very well endure peace. They are not fuddainly mooued to tumuks, but being once raised, they rage like men; and are not easily appeased. The people are excel-Tent at working in braffe, or iron, and drawing it into curious scu'ptures.

For the Invention of Printing and Gunpowder, the world is indebted to the Germane wits ; a benefit, altogether doubtfull, whither more to the damage, or behoofe of mankind. Their mindes are full of candor, not enuying, nor carping at the vertues, deedes, or inventions of other men, especially, those that are absent :

but extolling them with fincere, and many times immodes

sate praises.

But nothing is more magnificent in that Nation, then that the Christian Empire, and Eagle is seated there; as if Germany had vanquished Rome: and the last of the Prounces. that bowed to the Romane yoake, is now the onely country, where the name, and reliques of the Romane fortune doe rest themselves. The Sacred Maiesty of soe great a name is eclipfed by noe amulation of other Princes; and Kings, though farre greater in power, then he, yet willingly give place to the Imperial Maiesty. That highest dignity was heretofore supported by a power, answerable, which by little and little as

were in a fatall old age, did lessen and consume away. For by domesticke warrs, and the immoderate power of Princes of the Empire, and besides, the dignity being elective not hareditary, the vigour of the Empire falling to ground, hath onely retained a venerable name, more by the piety of others, then her own strength. Among other causes of the decay of this power, this you shall finde to bee the greatest; the Princes being of great wealth, and encreased by the bounty of former Emperours, haue at last changed those Prouinces, which were first deputed vnto chem, into absolute Principal. ties, & to have some priviledge about the Emperour (who oweth his estate not to right of inheinheritance, but their suffra-.. ges)they have made their own dignities, inheritances to their posterity. By this meanes the mindes of those Nations and People, which are naturally enclined to honour their Princes, and heretofore onely in loyalty to the Emperour, came by degrees to honour those Princes, as his deputies, and afterwards Their owne absolute Lords: which was a nearer way, either to profit, or danger. See the power of those Princes begun and strengthned, did exhaust the Arength of the whole Empire: and first of all, as much as remayned in France, then Italy, it selfe, the fountaine of the Empire; afterwards the Brongest parts of Germany, taken, as it

were, out of their owne body, did fall away, and were dinided by the variety, and number of Princes, into other loyalties. But in France, and Brittaine, which are most true Kingdomes, it was ordered farre otherwise, and those Princes, whose power was too great, and worthy of suspition, by the prouidence of God, and industry of the Kings, were suppressed, and rooted out. For what roome were left for the Maiesty and State of Kings, if Normandy, Brittaine, Aquiv taine, Burgundy, Anuergne, Potteirs, Prouence , and Champaine, were possessed by Dukes, or Earles, as once in the gouernment of petty Kings? who lafe in their owne strength would obey the King vpon curtefie,

and onely not contemne him as inferiour to themselves. But what miseries in the Kingdome of Brittaine haue beene caused by the great, and too formidable power of Dukes, and Count Palatines, endued with regall primledges, and mighty in faction, and attendance? what bloody rebellions have they oft railed against their Kings? there is noe more certaine fafety of the Kingdome at this day, then that the power of those great men, and their Families, are vtterly suppressed, and the nerves of the Kingdome guided by one onely.

The Emperours therefore should then have prevented this renting of the Empire, when first the Princes began to grow too great. But now

the disease too farre growne, and all affaires too long fetled, so that the Empire especially confisteth of those Princes: to extort the power out of their hands, were not onely an vnfeasonable, but a vaine enterprise; foe many vpholders of those dignities would iowne in confederacy against him for their common fecurity: especially Seeing at this day, their Principalities doe as lawfully belong to them, as the Empire doth to him; their titles accrewing both from the consent of them that first gauethat power into their hands, and also by time and long possession; whereby all titles of Soueraignty, which for the most partare weake, or wrongfull at the first, are made lawfull.

of Mindes.

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But the last and mortals disease of the expiring Empire was this, that many, or most of the cities, imitating these Princes, gathered themselves into Commonwealths, making themselues Lawes, and ordaining Magistrates; and to make it knowne, that they had renounced their first loyalty, in this fliding from the Empire, they challenged the name of Free States; entering into leagues among themselues, to maintaine each other against the Soueraignty of the Emperour.

Soe that countrywhich in one State, & vnder one Gouernour, had been eable to contest with all Europe, puissant in men, and strong cities, and worthy to receive the translated dignity

of the Romane Empire can now finde noe Prouince, nor scarce any city, that shee can deliner to her Emperour in free power and Soueraignty. For the Commonwealths and Principalities will suffer noe Imperiall garrifons within them nor can that Prince, that beares foe great and glorious a title, finde any place among foe many cities, where hee may have his subjects leave to dwell. By this sweet, and publike errour, they have disarmed the Maicsty of their owne country,

The scauen Electors, by the castome of the country, are to choose no man Casar, but a great man possessed of a Kingdome, or other great wealth, and Territoryes of his owner already. Vertue and Nobility

alone can neuer carry those voices. For where should the seate of the Emperour bee, vnlesse he had one already without the Empire,? where should that Court bee kept, which were answerable to the title of soe great Maiesty ? they would hardly suffer him to dwell any where among them, whom they love to honour in his absence. But if the face of that valiant Nation would permit, that the whole Prouince might be absolutely subject to their Elected Cafar, then they might. eafily finde among themselves some, that were fit for that great and puissant honour, and bee forced to seeke after nothing in their Elections, but vertue onely.

The Emperour then hath

some power (but limited and fraightned) ouer all the country. In civill contentions they doe often appeale to him. But capitall crimes the Princes and Free States doe judge in there owne territories. The Emperour has power to call diots, to proclaime warrs, and determine controuersies betweene the Princes themselues. When warrs doe threaten Germany, hee commands men and money from the Provinces, if that may bee termed by command, which cannot bee obtained without their free consent.

The Free Princes in that spacious country are very many, but the reuenewes divided among the brothers, or male kindred of a Family, doe by that meanes grow many times

tle differences in dividing Proninces or Principalities, and in parting private estates, and patrimonies. In that manner, the Dukedome of Saxony was in this age divided among many brothers, and because it was a hard matter, those that were skilfull in the lawes and customes of the country were by their command affembled together. To whom, as they fate in counfell, and the brethers were contending about their right, a fellow of somewhat a distracted minde, but such a one as vsed to delight the hearers with his harmes lesse and pleasant madnesse. came in among them.

The eldest brother of the Saxon Duke looking vpon this fellow, (for hee had vsed

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his Court, and waited at his table) wilt thou also (quoth he) give thy opinion concerning this division of the State? why should I not answered the fellow? vpon which, they wereall in expectation to heare fome ridiculous and pleasant iest from the mad-man, and entreated him earnestly, that his counsell might not bee wanting in soe great a matter. But he denyed to beare any part in the consultation, vnlesse they would give him fuch a gowne as the Lawyers vsed to weare, faying that with that gowne hee should put on wisedome. with thata merrier Genius posfessed them all, insomuch that his Lord laughing heartily, com manded a furrd gowne ro bee brought out of his ward-

rope, and put vponchimis Which when the fellow had fitted well, hee walked twice. or thrice about the roome, and began to aske his Lord, while ther that garment became him: well or not s excellent well, answered the Duke ; but now it remaines, that thy wifedome should determine the controllerties that are betweene vs. Hee told them, hee would presently bee ready for them, but first he must retire a) little into the next chamber; and there hee world call some spirits of better wisedome ra counsell with him. When hee was retired thither, hee thut. the doore presently, that not man might enter to interrupt his witty knauery ; and pur ting off the gowne, with a lit-

1724 The Mirrour

tle fword, which was girded about him, hee cut it from the shoulders to the lowest hemm, into long and slender slashes. Then putting it on all ragged asit was, he opened the doore. and comming out to his Lord asked him againe, how well that gowne did now become him: anger had curbed his Lords laughter, for the gowne which was foe spoyled, was of great price. Then wretch (quoth the Duke) I will have thee whipt, for prefuming foe madly to spoyle thy Lords gowne. The fellow not at all affrighted, answered them thus: how ridiculous is it in you to be foe extremely angry with me, when your selues are farre more dangeroufly mad, this

gowne, which I have put on, is the representation of your fortunes, and much more foolishly doe you goe about to rent, and spoile the Dukedome of Saxery, then I have done this garment. Whilst it was whole, it became mee well, and you laugh at it, now it is thus mangled.

body doth flourish, and is puissant in armes and wealth; but when you have rent it into many peeces, noe man can uphoid

the ancient dignity.

Princes, besides some taxes and tributes, are, for the most part, arising out of slockes and heards of cattell; as also out of the service.

1 3 Which

which commonly they exercise with the voluntary, not hired labour of the Boores. By this meanes they cannot certainely define their wealth, and annuall reuenew, which isto be valued according to the changeable price of corne. The Nobility haue a great and superstitious care of their pedigree; and thinke that ancient blood is Rained, if it be marryed into a lower or voltart Family; nor is such a staine washed away in many generations. For to a cleare testimony of Noble birth, are required eight descents of ancestors in both lines, which have not at all beene tainted with this vnequall marriage. In their diff courses they have certaine titles and formes of speech fitwhich they account it almost a sin, eyther to neglect, or care lefly confound; nor doth any Nation vse more set formes, ouerburdening even the memory of those who from their child-hoods have been trained in that Art, and su-

perstitious distinction.

In that part of Belgia, which is accounted in Germany, are those Prouinces, which here to fore by war, marriages and successions were incorporated together under the house of Burgundy; and afterwards transferred by marriage to the Spaniard; and the chiefe strength of that Nation, if they could as well obey the harsh commands of their Prince being absent, as they can how

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nour him present in person with them. Some of these people in this age complaining of hard vsage, breaking the bonds of cocord, by which they were tied both to their Prince, and among themselues, hauersen in soegreat astorme, as may well deserue to put all Europe into a feare. In this commotion part of them by armes have acquired their liberty; the rest either mastered by power, or detained by loyall reuerence of their ancient Lords, continue still in obedience to their Prince. Those that despising the Soueraignty of the Spaniard have made themselves a free-State, inhabite chiefly about the Ocean, and are called by forreyne Nations Hollanders, which was the chiefe Nati-

Nation among them. By a boldneffe necessary after their revolt, they have given them! selues to sea-affaires; from whence they are growne to great strength and wealth, searching all frores, and infelting the Spanifi Sea. By this meanes. their cities are encreased, and their wealth, by daily booties. Auxiliary fouldiers from France and England, hauc come vnto them, by reason of that muruall benefit, which accrewes, both to the aided, and the aiders.

The other which remaine vnder the Spanish scepter, taking also their name from one of their Prouinces; are called through the world Eleminists. Results to Uga att

But the people, though thus distinguished into two Gouernements, retaine the same Genius and dispositions. Their wirs are candid, but made groffer as it were by the fault of the climate, which yet they doe more depresse by the distemper of drinking; whither this thirst bee kindled in them by the fortune of their situation, and neighbour-hood of High-Germany; or by the manner of educating their infants. For they give to their infants to abate their defire of milke, whilst yet they hang at their mothers breafts, bottles full of beere, made after the fashion of a dugge

That innocent and vncurious age oftentimes lifting to the mouth the beere which comes foe flowly, is delighted with the likenesse of sucking, and keept from the wearisomnesse of idlenesse. Nor is the thing without some prosit, if from their first growth onely

you esteeme it.

For infants foe ordered are brought to have strong bodies, and full of cheerefull and wholfome iuyce. But the perpetuall custome of drinking, grows by foevling it into a perpetuall pleasure, stirring vp the desire of the palate, which is ever afterwards, eyther overflowed, or thirstie. To this may been added, the qualitie of that drinke, not quenching the thirst after the manner of wine and water, but in a thicke liquor, leaving fill that vpon the lawes, which by the next draught

draught would bee washed a-

way.

But by this strange delight in drinking their wits (which you would wonder at) are not drowned, and made stothfull, but industrious in all the artes of merchandise, beyoud the diligence of other Nations.

Their strong and accustomed bodies are able to buckle withthat vice, and with a wondrous felicity dissipate againe those clouds of drinke, which in banquering arise in them: see that their drunkennesse late at night makes them not storthfull in their businesses the next morning.

None excell their industry in low arts. Idlenesse with

more then Arbenian seuerity is punished among them; their boyes (if neede bee, at the publike charge) are trained vp in action, and their maides to the spindle: enery age 13 exercised, and fweat in a fitting calling; and labour familiar to them from their child-hood, banishes, euen by custome alone, the loue of vnknowne floth. By this frugall discipline theircities are wonderfully enriched with trading, and. few of them steepe in the lethargy of beggery. The wits of the people are neyther capable, nor patient of fraud.

They doe easily value others with that trust which they

are worthy of; but their simplicity, once deceived, with an irreconcileable hatred avoides the perfidiousnesse of those that cozen them.

Among these people there haue beene in all ages some excellent mindes that have kept vp the dignitie of learning; or else admitted to the Priny Councells of Princes & States, haue with worthy dexterity managed the affaires committed to them. As in those regions, where commonly, and as it were, by the priviledge of their birth, sharpe and elegant wits arise, few are eyther carefull, or able, to exceede the tenor of their owne mediocrity; fo Nations, of a lower fate as it were, and more furnished with the ancient goodnesse,

then the vaine ornaments of fubtelty, are fometimes excellent in wir, and grow nearer to heauen, then they wereborne to the earth.

The chiefe men of Holland haue commonly framed theire mindes and manners according to the Genius of that Common wealth, which themselues have made seyther by a facility of. Nature borne to that forme of Government which now they have, or elfe by a fubtle and popular garbe, ready also to undergoe all offices of mutuall seruitude, vnlesse when they are commanded to beare releade or suppress of the trail

But those Noblemen, which are under the Spaniard, are more filled with Court-ambieion, and with their Belgicke

dif

politions have mixed the manners of that people that reigne ouer them. Whence it comes to paffe, that they have, as it were, a double Nature, and a disposition various, and almost dinided betweene two most different inclinations. But among all their desires, the desire of honours is the greatest. They do ambitioufly feeke, and carefully maintaine those tixles and names which the craft of flatterers has invented to distinguish dignities. Nor can you any way winne their affections more, then by faluting them canningly with honour. They are curreous to those that flatter them, and prodigall in giving respect where they expect greater. Soe with true and fincere loue they re-

compence a subtle flattery, vnlesse that they being mooued to loue for vaine reasons, are often changed by the same rashnesse; and perchance by a vaine suspition of contempt, are lost as farre as to extreme hatred. The common-people in those Provinces on both sides doe more esteeme a shew of liberty, and vaine tokens of parity, thenliberty it selfe. From hence proceeded those arts, which foe easily catch them:as; notto disdaine their clownish iests, to entertaine discourse with them by the way, and to mixe thy felte with them (though much the r luperiour) ia a kinde of humility, which shall neyther bee disparaging, nor long-lasting. William a most politike man, by this art, more then by any warre-like force afflicted the Spaniard.

The Boores of Holland inhabited many Townes by the Ocean-side; the greatest strength (noe doubt) of Belgia reuolting from the Spaniard; and able to weary the wealth of both the Indies: for the Townes guarded both by Nature and situation, might by no very chargeable fortifications bee brought to an impregnable strength.

of their revolt, William by a new way of popularity had wonne all the affections of the people, who thought in how much more happy a condition

they

they should line under such a Captaine, as owed his power and authority to them, then under the King himselfe.

For comming flowerly from sea or the plow, they had free accesse to him, whose Maiesty, and attendance was not great or troublesome. Hee himselfe in a deepe subtlety, was glad to have himselfe saluted by those, that met him or came to him, by noe high or enuited names, but sometimes plaine William. And very well knowing by what waies especially the affections of his Nation were to bee gained, hee did not proudly looke vpon the lowest condition of any that faluted him.

remark-

Remarkable was that faying of his, to content those that reprooued his too-much humanity; That man is well bought, who costs but a falutation.

The

The Sixt Chapter.

ITALT,

Taly, which was once con-I fined by the small channell of the riner Rubicon, is now bounded, (more suitable farre to the intention of Nature; by the enclosure of those losty Alpes. A-Land owing much ro her owne commodities, but more endebted to the fauour of fame. Renowned heretofore by the Gracian Colonies in her Easterne part ; afterward by the spirit of her inhabitants, and the greatnesse of hier spreading Empire, whose state no age could ever paralell.

And lastly, fince the nerues of

the Romane greatnelle are quite cut, the remaines even at this day, an example of life and breeding to many Nations; our people supposing that to be the onely place for the polithing of youth, and the nursery of all humanity.

The very Names of her cities and other places, foe celebrated in true and fabulous stories, driving the ignorant cuen into amazement, such as give more true credit to others then to their owne know-

ledge. Washard of

By this strange fauour of men are the faults of Italy concealed and her good things fer off with greater luftre. Non is their any doubt, but that at some places it exceeds the felicity of other regions, there

where

where the river Benaem with his Masculine streams sporteth along the side of the mountaines, and where Aneruns, Prescoli, and Cuma wanton it. As rich and beautifull (being a country almost leuell, and well watered) is that which the Lombards tooke from possession of the French.

But if we compare the fortune of all Italy with her neighbours, as Germany, France and that more Northern Brittaine; then perchance we may justly bee ashamed that Italy, by our prevarication, seeding soe much the glory of it, should eclipse the felicity of our owne country.

The Land is rugged in geicall by the frequency of mountaines, or parched with too great and barren hear. The foile is dry in many places, and where it is arable, their corne, before it be ripe, is corrupted by frequent finuts, or deftroy-

ed by violent haile.

Of pasture-grounds there is noe greatstore, and in those the wooll of their sheepe is naught, and their flesh worse. And scarce at any time has the fruitfullnesse of Italy beene able to furfice plenteoufly her owne inhabitants for three yeares together; nor muchleffe would it suffice them, did nor the frugality of the men, and the condition of the clime, requiring noe plentifull diet, accustome them to sparing and Sober feasts. Trees of diugas forts, which vnder the moueratenesse of our clime doe thriue

thrine happily, are there enfecbled by too much heate, bringing forth weake, and vnprofitable fruit. Oranges, Pomegranates, and Figges of diners races doe there abound to temper with their coolenesse the excesse of heate in the country : which fruits, though not at all necessary for humane vie, yet carried about the world, are growne precious more by our delicacy then their owne value.

For Oliues (though there they are counted one of the three great bleffings of mankind, with Corne and Wine,) they have reason to prize out of the condition of that country, in which by the fault of pasture, their dry cattel doe afford the milkers but little

and vnsauous y vdders. Their stesh meates degenerate from the sweetnesse of ours almost into another kinde of taste, except only some few, which doe better indure the violence of the sunne. So that now those palates of parasites so frequently filling the Greeke, and Roman Comedies with commendation of sishes, may seeme to have beene especially suted to that country.

Their Cities are for the most part faire, and situated in

pleasant places.

Their houses built of no slight matter, especially those which they call Palaces, are commonly more beautifull for the greatnesse of their structure, then convenient for the yse of the dwellers in them.

They glitter with marble of diners kinds, and fomerimes with gold; their roofes extended with magnificent worke. Old eaten statues are placed vpon faire & precious supporters, which for their gorgeous places are sometimes indebted onely to the lying report of those that sell them. But where their walls doeafford space for windowes, there their houses doe lose somewhat from the lustre of the other building. For commonly eyther coorse linnen, or oyled paper doe couer those places which are ordained for letting in of light. Which thing as it is wnfightly to the beholders, so it imprisons the eyes of the dwellers within; the bounds of their Parlour or gallery doores, farre K 2

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from the comelinesse of the French or Brittish manner, where their windowes are made of glaffe, affording them a free prospect of that which is without, the beames of light dancing as it were cheerfully vpon them. Their temples also (for that is part of their fame) doe not fully answere the exges and figures is the greatef lustre, and nothing more beau tifull then their altars. Purple 8 filke are accounted but mean ornamers in respect of the gold and gems of price, The pauc ments of different marbles are dorned with var susworkman Thip, where infureable colour the figures of flowrs, of birds, beafts, are represented. Their p lars of marble are fo wonderf

large, as may almost bring that stone into alow esteeme. But so rich a beauty in their building, is not brought to the height of comlinesse, their roofs being not enough raised and the free sunne scarcely is admitted into those dark places. Their windows are shadowed with much iron, and thicke pictures wrought vpon them: if any temple do chance to receive light eyther by the rarity of buildings neere, or convenient situation of the doores, then eyther with spreading vailes, or interposed walls they banish that benefit which the funne would give, beleeuing, it should seeme, that devotion is raised by the ladnes of night, and by the pleasure of light vanishes againe. But whatfoeuer strangers do e teem of their publike buildings, they K 3

they cannot but wonder at and abhorre the fordid meannesse of their private lodgings. For at their Innes being entertained with scarcie and suttissi progisions, their stomakes are divided betweene two contraries, loathing and hunger; besides the nastines of their chambers, and lodgings annoyed by gnats and flinging flies of many kinds, they have grating Hoaste, and high prices set vpon bad entertainement.

But fortune has found out for that country other blandishments to allure the minds of those which trauaile thither. For eyther publike errour, or a fate befriending Italy, inniteth young trauailers to that place from all parts of Europe; where enioying mutuall con-

tent in so great a frequency, that which they owe to their owne fociety, they impute to the pleasure of that country. For if you loue men of your owne Nation, there you may finde them in abundance: or if vou delight in the fellowship of forreiners, you have faire choyce among multitudes of fo many nations: especially the commerce of mindes fo farre oftentimes oblieging strangers, that to be fellow trauailers, is a greater enducement to entire friendship then to bee fellow citizens.

So from all Provinces they come as it were into one body, and seeme to constitute one common and extemporary home. Besides, those young men that transile into Italy,

are for the most part wealthy, who there visiting change of Cities, and staying at the chiefe, trying befides all kinds of delight in life and conversing, let loose their minds, which are now in the midway betweene past child-hood and growing wisedome to a remisnesse void of curiofity: especially, when being farre remooned from their owne countries, the face of domesticke busines doth not at all trouble them, and that tender age doth free itselse from any weighty cares.

Besides, they have there all the delights of youth, the arte of horse-man-ship, musicke, spectacles, Comedians borne for that purpose, but scarce fit for Tragedy. When afterwards they returne into

their.

their owne countries, and are employed (as is fit) in ferious affaires, what wonder is it if those pleasant times of recreation doe cause a sweete remembrance, and striking the minde with thought of those delights which are now past, and neuer to returne, it make them with love to remember that place, where heretosore they enioyed so sweete a felicitie?

But great alterations, and a foile rich so often to the ruine of it selfe, hath quite banished from the Nations of Italy those first manners, which we reade the ansients had.

Yet are their mindes capable of all affaires. Nor with a rude heate, or naturall instinct, but artificially as

202 The Mirrour it were, and with skill they follow eyther vertue or vice. They make large promises of humanity, confirmed not onely by a compleat garbe of their persons, but words of most exact civility, and when they please, most powerfull in periwalion. They can also entertaine long friendship, and where they truely love, esteeme no dangers in respect of that sacred league. But if they once hate (whether by their owne

iniury) they are so much the more sull of danger, in that hiding their disquiet thoughts, they deepely lay up the memory of their offence or emulation. Sometimes being offen-

inclination, or some conceived

ded, they will descend to courtese, that so by the priviledge of friendfriendship, they may more subtilly and safely worke their re-

uenge.

This hatred of theirs will outlast an age, and which is the most mischieuous, their minds are neuer so casie wounded, as obstinate in bearing the lasting scarre. Their mindes beaten to a sadde and serious wisedome, will scarce endure any iests, and customing themfelues to fay or doe nothing rashly or without consideration, they weigh all men by their owne natures, and examine with too superfluous a subtilty the mindes of others by euery word and looke, so that their owne passions doe perpetually punish them with cares and lealousies. Besides, the very opinion it selfe of too great a

wife-

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wisedome is most vnwelcome enery where, that even then. when they doe descend into a free and valuspicious familiarity, they are thought but spies, and censurers of other mens actions. Their impoysonings. and damned lusts I will therefore omit, because they are vices not proper alone to Italy; feeing it were iniustice to impute that especially to one Nazion, which is so rife ouer all. the Easterne and Southerne countryes. Seeing besides that those villanies are wrought in feeret, and may not onely bee. denyed by thosethat are guilty, but denised by others illeffected to them. But there is a great and publike opinion of their cruelty, such cruelty as robbers in that Country doe vie to

paf-

paffengers, and private enemies one against another; nature hauing to dispenced the affections of men, that in those Countries where there is generally the greatest shew of humanity, there the rage of their thecues is most cruell, and the revenge of enemies most barbarous. For Italy beeing most forward, and profule in obsequiousnesse and courtesie, reaches on the contrary the extremity of cruelty in the dispositions of her theeues, and those that are at enmity. The French which embrace friendship, not altogether with so much humility of words and gestures, do remit somewhat also in their enmity of the Italian cruelty; nor can they bee so easily induced by impious murders.

to violate the lawes of nature; at the least they account death the height of their revenge, and make it not the goale or marke of pleasure, to which by degrees of torture they would bring their enemies. Last of al!, the English which want somewhat of the pompous shew of the French humanity, doe want much more of their barbarous cruelty. For English theeues are content with the bouty only: it is thereasftrange and vnvfuall thing for theeuesto kill: but with long piked staues they knocke the passengers downe, weh causes in them onely a short amazement, that neyther are they able to defend their goods, tior the theeues enforced to their slaughter, which often causes a bloudy bickering on both sides.

But Italy, though wholy enuironed by the seas, and the Alpes, and ioyned together by the community of one language, is notwithstanding diuided into many kinds of tashions and manners, according to the diversity of the spirits that inhabit it. For having beene often conquered, and that piecemeale, and by divers kinds of people, her inhabitants are not of one nature. Those stranger natures shee mixing with her owne, is, by that meanes, her-selfe scasoned with the fates of a forreine Genius. Besides. the seuerall formes and sorts of gouernment, into which every part of Italy, after so many changes, hath composed it selfe. doe make much for the forming of seuerall dispositions in men.

Rome it selfe by the furious inualion of many people, was long fince throwne downe from her wondrous height of wealth and greatnesse, as if the whole world had fought from her a restitution of their spoiles. Nor euer did Change thew fo prodigious a testimony of her power ouer the mindes of men, as when by floth and baseneise shee ruined that great Empire, which so much valour and worth had rayled. The City it selfe at this time vnder the Popes iurisdiction, with a great part of Latium & Vmbria, and some neighbouring people, dorh yet retaine mindes fit for so great an Empire, and the Maiesty of her Prince is more preserved through all the world by writing, reuerence, and. and religious awe, then by the armes and valour of the old Romans. But all that fartheff horne of Italy, stretch'd out into the lonian sea, from Picenum, and Formianum, enuironed on both sides by the Tyrrhenian, and Adrioticke seas, is vnder Kings. The feate of the kingdome is called Naples. No part of Italy is filled with Nobility of more haughty and proud dispositions. They are practifers of Armes and Horsemanship, louers of honour and studious of all magnificence.

In that other Coast of Italy, which first meeter with the Adriaticke, have the Venetians built their City, when being deprived of the land-townes, in that waste of Italy, which Attila made, they were saine

to hide themselves in their fens and marishes. In that City, though the power and gouernment of the Commonwealth due belong to all the Nobility in generall, yet the administration of it is in the hands of a few of their most ancient Senatours; a seuere and sollicitous gouernment, as must needes be, among so many potent neighbours, and wea'thy Citizens of their owne, whose riches and greatnesse might tend to ambition, if it were not curbed. So their mindes by that dilcipline are corrected, and not onely not trained up in the brauery, and state of Courts, but want also these delights and ornaments, which all the Nobility of other Countreyes doe wie and enjoy, as Armes, borle-

horsemanship, and the like; befides other elegancies and courtships which the customes of the age doe teach them. Lastly, they are taught to bee wife, more for the publicke, then for their private, vnlesse onely in this, that they are very diligent in managing their prinate patrimonies. Other Cities also vpon divers shores of Italy: had fettled themselues in the forme of Commonwealths, . whom the strength of fortune hath since deprined of the lustre of that gouernment, which they from forraine feas had brought with them, and forced them to come under the protection of Kings and Princes.

In those people there are mixt foules, and doubtfully he uering betweene the desires

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of glorious liberty, of which they yet retaine a shadow, or representation and the necessary, yet heatty yoake of those Princes, under whose protection they were forced to put themschees.

But the Lombards both in their mindes and bodies have mixed, as it were, the Image and Genius of France and Italy; their counternances and garbes being composed to the sashions of the French brauery, but yet retaining the Italian qualities, and filled on both sides with the vertues and vices of both Nations.

The other regions of Italy are under the command of their owne princes; they are little States, and therfore to be governed gouerned with the greater skill, as small barkes in the midd'st of a wide Ocean. And secing that in such small Prouinces the maiesty of a Prince cannot bee richly supported, but by great tribute and exactions, long and wholesome custome hath taught those people not onely to bee industrious in getting of wealth, but also not to denie it to the vse of their Sourcaigne Princes.

But there is nothing so hard for humane diligence to attaine, but the excellency of an Italian wit will aspire to it. From the meanest rankes of their common people many daily by happy industry doe aduance themselves, both to great name and plentiful estates. No kinde of cares, or (it neede bee)

no condition of humility will they dildaine, if it promise wealth; long paines and long hopes they will undertake and foster: one of which, the pride of Spaniards, the other the fuddaine and hot dispositions of the French will not endure. They have deepe and able mindes for the governing of Commonwealths, and fit for any fortune; frugall men, and provident of the tuture.

Many among them can write Latin, but not speake it so well. That language also which vul. garly they vie, though it bee nothing else then a mixture of barbarous words with corrupted Latin, yet both in speaking. and writing they strine to alter, as farre as they can, from all markes of the originall; and to

that end they draw backe the words into their throates, fo that the roughnes of the found. and contraction of words (for scarce do they come wholly to your eares) may seeme to bee nothing a-kinto the old Lating Afterthat manner hath Spaine also at this day infected her language, so that drowning the simplicity of words, with a confused harshnes, forced as it were from their brefts, they lofe the sweetenesse of many letters: but the sweetnesse of learning doth not alittle flourish in Italy, especially those parts of learning to which the liuely elegance of nature doth inuite them: which is witnessed by that faire plenty of their native poetry enuy'd by all their neighbournations; which hath made facred.

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facred the Poets names, burning in so many fained fires of loue, to the renowning of their Supposed tuffrings. For it is no matter whether they expresse themselues in their owne language, or in the old learned tongues, feeing it is the same rapture which leades a pure and rich wit in their owne popular eloquence, as well as in the ancient. For the Grecians wrote those things which their people understood, and the Romans fitted the Greeke Comedies. and all the pith of Athenian eloquence to the eares of their common people.

Last of all, what shall we say of Italian Historians, those whose sincere and faithfull wisdome shall eternize their writings? or those that offend by too much eloquence and partiality? but religion, and heavenly wisdome, as well as humanelears ning, with whatfocuer is left in the custody of the Muses, was ever highly indebted to the wits of that Nation. And to conclude. you shall no where finde more true examples of facred vertues, or abominable vices, then in Italian mindes: so that as one fayd of Athens, There growes in no place more venomous hemlocke; nor any where else are

the Bee-hiues filled with extraction of fweeter flowers.

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The

The seuenth Chapter.

SPAINE.

He farthest bound of Eu-A rope, as you traueil to Labye, and the great Ocean, is Spaine, called in accient times, from the situation of it, Helpe: ria, afterward Hispalia, from the name of a towne; and laftly by that name, which it now retaines. A spacious Land, enterposed alone betwixt the Gaules and Affricke, an Iland eucry way, vnleffe onely there. where the Pyrenean mountaines are the borders of it. A land famous heretofore for her fertility, but at this day by her great barrennesse, derogating from from the credit of old Histo-

The foyle is naked in most places, and couered ouer with barren lands, wanting water, & not clothed at all with graffe or corne: but where the veines of water do runne along, affording nourishment to their corne and vineyards, it is wonderfull, how nature hath there bleffed them: They have in those places so great a plenty, as doth almost recompense the barrennesse of the other grounds. You would thinke it strange, that in some fields the husbandman receyweth his feede with inercase an hundred fold. Their townes are not many, and in those that are, shey want prouision to entertain trauellers in such a manner, as France, Brittaine, or Italy 1 3

can do. The inhabitants are constant in keeping fill the ancient habits, and the very Genius of their foretathers. They areable men, and patient of labour, not such labour as belongs to tilling of the ground, or handy-crafts, but fuch especially, as is suitable to warre-like actions; as for example; Watch-fulnesse, hunger, thirst, and all kinde of sufferance that belongs to inilitary discipline. For their mindes being constant in purfuing those hopes which they once conceiue, account it an especiall point of vertue, not to bee wearyed with milfortunes and dangers.

From hence in old time, was Saguntus so constant to the Roman party, renow-

acd

ned for her ouerthrow, and the courage of their mutuall

saughter.

Afterwards, Numantia a small City, in respect of the greatnesse of her fame, a conquerour first of so many Romans, and lastly of it selfe. Lustiania also, under the conduct of Viriatus, with sodaine forces casily raised, and disbanded againe: And last of all, all Spaine, both in their fayth, and manners, fitted to the discipline of Sertorins, were able to weary both Metellus and Pompey.

While the Spaniards were yet barbarous, and divided into many and rude governments, they were taught their owne strength by the Carthaginians & Romans warring against each

L3 others

other: whose ambition Spaine suffered for, exposed as it were a reward for victory obtained

against another state.

The forces of Carthage being subdued and expelled, the lusts, and couetous suffered the Romans, and a loue to liberty, which the Spaniards then vnederstood when they had lost, did so libre vp this rude and barbarous people against their conquerous, that Spaine was useer alrogether quiet, but als most every yeere prouoking the armes of Italy.

Augustus Casar himselfe also ineged not that warre against the Cantabrians to bee an action of light import, and therfore committed not the managing of it to his Lieutenant, but was there in person, as ac-

counting

counting it a danger and atchienement worthy of his felicity. Nor did the Spaniards in so many wars, and so much effusion both of their own and others bloods, think at all of forreine conquests, but strived on. ly not to bee flaues themselues. At last, when they were accustomed to beare a yoake, the Goths and Vandals tooke them away from the subjection of Rome, making at the first a conquest for themseines, but afterwards for Spaine also, seeing they incorporated themselues with the Nation of Spaine. A fierce storme of inuation came afterwards out of Mauritania, which lighted not onely vpon Spaine it selfe, but with the same shocke seized vpon France, spreading farre the strength

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and violence of those inuading Saracens. But those Moores beaten out of France, and the neighbouring parts of Spaine, scated themselves beyond the rivers Batis and Iberus.

The other parts of Spaine were divided then into severall and emulous principalities: vntill (being the first pledge of vniting Spaine) Isabella, who succeeded her brother in the Kingdom of Cafile, was married to Ferdinand the Arragonian King, and by the greatnesse of her dowry, brought Arragon a Prouince, that had euer beene more free then befitted a true Monarchy, into due subjection: afterwards with conjoyned strength they vanquished the Moores, and chased them againe

gaine into Affricke, who almost eyght ages had possessed Spaine.

Vnder the felicity of their reigne did that Columbus discouer America in the West-Indies, and that the affaires of Spaine with prosperous fates might bee fully exalted on all sides, the Nether-lands also, by the new alliance of Philip of Austria, were added to the Spanise Empire.

At the same time also, the forces of France being driven out of Apulia, did Ferdinand make himselfe master of the

the Kingdome of Naples.

Immediately after, did Charles the fift, honoured with the title of Romes Emperour, bring to the growing affaires of Spaine,

a new renerence, and ripenesse as it were, and by prowesse subdued the Dutchy of Millane.

There remained now out of Spaine onely Portugell, distoyned both by name and affection from it, a Kingdome enriched by their traffique with the Bast-Indies, to which with bold aduentures they failed along farre and dangerous Affrican shores. & established a Kingdome there by conquest, and plantation of rich colonyes: but this Prouince also was by the death of King Sebastian, vnited againe to the body of Spaine, and were brought vnder the fubiection of Philip the second, the Spanish Monarch.

But by these increases of the Spanish greatnesse, the

manners

manners of the people are not changed, but excused rather. For there was in them, at the time of their meanest lownesse, a pride befitting the greatnesse they have now; to which those people were come by the insting of their owne nature; and that is the spring of vertues and vices in them. They have grave mindes, and iwelling high, but mixed with a kinde of weightinesse, which makes them not rashly carried vpon diuers things; they know as well how to vie their victories, as to obtaine them: so being constant proofe against all dangers, they are not vanquished by time, nor wearied out. Nor can you remoone from those brefts, which it once possesses, this Spanish granity, which na-

ture and art together haue made. But the words in which they magnifie themselues and their Nation, loathsome to the hearers, and often traduced by fatyricall Comicke-writers, their countenances also, gestures, and conversations, suitable to their swelling lane guage, intolerable to all but flauish and vanquished mindes, dothadde almost a kinde of hatred to their senere Maiefty.

The Spanish souldier is better in an army, and especially in their Phalanx, then in a single encounter. That wealth which patrimony hath acquired, and often denyed to the necessity of their temperate-made bodies, they love to spend upon apparell, and so display it in ostenta-

tions.

tion; with a confidence of themselues alwayes great, but most of all among fearefull or patient men. They are wonderous frugail, not onely in the heate of their owne climate (wheretheir bodies enseebled by the excesse and violence of Sunne, make them desirous of little food:) but all other places where they eate at their owne cost. A little quantity of bread with hearbes and sawces of no great price, will commonly suffice their Nature so hardly accustomed; but at another mans charges, none are more free for the mirth of feafting, and then there can bee no courses of rich banqueting, which with their eyes and hands they do not fully exa-

mine but in the most wretched and low estate of pouerty, a Spaniard cannot fortake his fupercilious pride. There wasa poore cobler lying on his deathbed, who, when his sonne borne to the same fortune, came vnto him, and asked him if he would command or counfell him in any thing before his death; with his last languishing breath thus answered his sonne; Remember orely (quoth he) that thou keep vp thy selfe in that port that beseemes the maiesty of thy family. But a poore woman of Spaine seemed to mee a miracle of pride in this nature. Shee was clothed, but scarce couered, with ragges and patches; and accompanied with three children, by miserable begging shee sustained her hungry life: thee lighted by chance vpon French Gentlemen, and one of them mooued with compassion of her apparent misery, faid vnto her, I will ease thee, woman, of part of thy burden; gine me the eldest of thy sonnes (hee-wasten yeeres old) hee shallattend vpon mee, and bee put onely to easy seruices besitting his age; and, when hee growes vp, shallat my charges bee bound to any trade that hee best likes. The woman answered, God forbid, Sir, that. although you see mee in some wants, I should condemne my fonne to follow a basenes, whom neither you not I can tell, to how high fortunes he may bee ordained and by what eminent vertues auailable hereafter to his country. It were better for him

him (if so the fates will suffer) to bee pined with hunger, then to descend to service: a thing abhorred by braue mindes, especially under a for-

reine matter. But the Spaniards oftentimes coozen the world, with a false shadow of those great spirits, which naturally, or vnaduifedly they make shew of. For many of them contented with a poore and meane forsune, feeme not at all to crect their thoughts to any advancement beseeming their supercilious garbe. From hence it comes to passe, that you shall see them for small pensions grow old in garrisons (as it were in their owne houses) entertayning.

no cares of that height that may bee fuitable to their ambitious

language. .

language. Which things the mudes of the French can lesse endure, being alwaies erested to any new archieuement; nor the diligence of an Italian, watchfult alwayes to lay hold upon a sturre fortune.

The studies of learning shine not in Spaine with that lustre, which this age hath restored to the naked and poore Muses, when even that spirit of erudition, which ought to tell all parts of the sciences, did seeme altogether lost and vanished. Forthere neyther elequence in the Latine tongue, nor the clegance of Poetry, nor that profitable and folid knowledge of History, and ancient rites is at all regarded. They keepe their old and (almost barbabarbarous) manner of attaining

learning.

Philosophy they study, they loue diminity, and despise not the knowledge of the Lawes and Canons; but cannot endure that those learnings should be dressed at all in the Greeke or Latine elegancies; as supposing that by those adulterate varnishes (as they thinke them): he lineaments of manly learning would languish away. There was lately a man of no meane fame in learning, who being commanded by those, to whom he applied his ferulee, to profeffe diumity in Spaine, became shortly of low esteeme there, by that infamy (as it were) of the best learning, and was con-Arained earneftly to beggeleaue of his patrons, that hee might

duitt the place, and finde out iome other country more capable of his humanity. The especiall shew of learning there, is after the Germane manner, in long volumes containing little matter; and that also taken with a superfluous labour out of o. ther authors. This is the bane of their universities. In their other Cities the commerce of the sciences is not fo frequent; (valeffe onely, that for the honour of their Realme, they loue to have bookes written in their owne language,) So that it may altogether feeme, that for an ambition of warlike fame, they have on purpose put on this misbecomming forme of cruelty and neglect toward the Mufes.

They have deepe and refer-

ued mindes, firted for flow proiccts: hence will they undertake long mines, and unseene,
as it were, by the besieged, most
wisely esteeming of warre and
peace, according to their owne
occasions.

They frame their mindes according to their wealth, and by this inuincible art to triumph ouer the most valiant Nations. But their most vsuall matter is, for procuring of reverence, to vie the names of the celestiall powers, and by pretence of religion, to conceale their ambition from the peoples eyes: imputing their defires and couetousnesse to Gods cause, and fighting, as it were, for him, they conquer subtilly for themselues. With that preface-like beginning before all their at-

tempte

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were, into a Scene or Trage-

Ferdinandus and Ifabella taught to their successfours that sleight, which is now growne their country fashion. For they would ever finde out in their enemies some cause of publike hatred, that they in all their warres might bee thought executors of the wrath of God.

When they negotiate with Princes of other nations, they chuse not their Embassadours out of the number of their Dukes or Grandes, but from thesolitude of some monastery or other. And so, besides the charges abated in the Embassage, such kinde of Agents procure to the businesse faith.

fayth and reuerence. This thing in the is most worthy of praise, that the Spaniard, though men be scarce there, and his land not populous, can containe so vast and scattered an Empire with garisons, and colonies of his owne natives; and by the name of the Indies, together with his great brags, his wary and induthrious fraud, can vphold a fame of wealth in his Exchequer. But that pemp of garb and language in the Spanisk Nation, is therfore lesse distastfull, because it seemes not at all affected or put on by thé; but to swell of it selfe cuen from the instinct of nature. Of which every motion, though declining into vices, I know not by what Genius, doth feeme becomming.

But that you may not thinke

them vnworthy of such a fastion of mind, as may seeme sit for the personating of a Tragedy, they are great haters (at least in publicke) of all fordid basenesse; they are great louers, for the attire of their bodies, of neateresse, and the Nationall sastion in their apparell.

Their wear ons (as the chiefe orrament of a man) though they want meate, they will both

keepe and weare.

They have nothing of vaine folly (except onely their bragging) eyther in discourse or other conversation of life.

Their mindes are fubtill, and fit for all things, nor are they to ignomine of what is in themselves, as defirous to deceive others with a glosse of pompous words.

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The beginnings of their difcourses and friendships, they do adorne with a colour of the most gentle humanity; and you in those beginnings, may accost them in the same mild behauiour; but when they afterwards come to their supercilious pride, you must encounter them with the like Maiesty.

But if thy slender fortune doth enforce thee to bee a parasite there, then with a bashfull silence and applause thou must feede their mindes swelling about their owne, or their Nations greatnesse. And then also, but that thou already coozen'st him, thinke not, that thou hast him fast enough; but remember, that as her feedeth thee

with mighty promifes beyond all credit, so thou art tyed to promife him greater services then ever thou canst be able to performe, supporting thy lyes with proportionable bolds nesse.

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M The

The Eighth Chapter.

HYNGARY, POLONIA,
MOSCOVIA, and the
other Northern
Nations.

PANNONIA, when the affaires and strength of the Koman Empire were in declining was seized by the Longo bards and Hunnes, who bestowing their name upon the Pronince, called it Hungary.

The bounds of this Kingdome, according to the strength and puissance or their Monarchs, haue beene often changed; as fortune hath eyther contracted

hem.

them, or extended them vpon the neighbouring countries. It is watered with the rivers. Sanus, and Tibifens; Ifter augmented from many fountaines, doth runne thorowit, and at Taurunam in his wide channell doth receive the Sauns.

The country from Polonia and Germany extendeth it felfe vnto the Dacians and Masia; but at that fide, which lyeth toward Ulyricum and Dalmatia, the Alpes doe bound it. A foyle happy in all increases. It restores Corne in great abundance. How rich it is in pasture fields, their Cattell which are fold about the world, doe furniciently declare to other Nations

A hundred-thousand head of Cattell, or there-abouts M 2

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are yearely fent from thence into Germany, and so to the countries bordering upon Germany.

Some parts of lealy also are fed from thence with the like

prouision.

Their wine is most rich and generous, not much vnlike to that which growes in Spame.

The Climate also is healthfull enough, saue one by that about Autumne a distemper of the visconstant ayre (hourely changing) doth breede diseases, but most cruelly upon strangers. Their nights are chilly with extreme cold, which hot dayes succeede, at noone both parching their grounds, and sweltring with heate the bodies of men. Whom in the euening the cold astringent eyre againe surprizes unawares.

The earth in the bowels of it hath many metalls both of different natures and estimations; and gold it selfe is roled up on the sandy shores of many of their riners; and the same riversmost fruitfull in breeding of sish, which are cheape there

by reason of the plenty.

The nature of the people is therefore more hardly to bee learned, because in this age they are o'r whelmed with afflictions, and scarce left to their owne dispositions; for they are oppressed on one side by the Barbarians, which have made themselues masters of a great part of it; on the other fide auxiliary Souldiers leuied amongst all the natios of Europe, haue by their multitude and long aboade in that Countrey,

M 3 infuled,

and long aboade in that countrey infused, in some measure, their manners and dispositions

into the people.

I can suppose it should spring from no other cause, then continuance of warre and calamity among them, that the Country-Boores have quite lost their innocent simplicity, and areturned .. foextremely cruell. For without any difference they lye in waite, both for their owne fouldiers and the enemies. And. if any due happen by night to stray from their quarters, the Boores are ready to surprize the prey, and rob (with most vnthankfull villany) those fouldiers, who through all dangers doe endeauour their preservation; and neuer leave them but naked. and in all extremity. Their

Their Noble-men (as is fit) are of a brauer and better dispofition, their mindes and visages framed to magnificence, and their whole garbes composed to a pleasing Maiefty.

They vie Gownes and fuch robes as the Easterne people, but especially purple, or skie-coloured. And this attire doth wonderfully become the men, a shore fword commonly adorning their

gowned-fide.

They are excellent at subtill and great counsels, and of a courage equall to it; especially if theproiectlyein suddaine, short, and stolne enterprizes.

Their chiefe Nobles are of great wealth, and retaining (though in a Monarchy) very

M 4 great .-

great markes of true liber

They are attended, according to their riches, with store of Clients and those exceeding faythfull in their service to them : And ne greater care at all possesses them then not to forfake any of those prerogatiues, which they from many ages have maintained inniolable. For that reason is their valour more constant in fighting against the Turkes, who under one Law of seruitude doe oppresse all families, of how great blood or eminence soeuer. Without this, the inclination of their mindes might well bee feared, that they would choose Kings from other places then from Germany. For the Germans and Hungarians (a thing Ordinary in sonecrea neighbourhood)

hood) are at great emulation betwixt themselves.

Their railing at each other in their commondiscourses at home are very cruen; and with great curiofity they are both bufie in discouering or inneuting vices in each other.

The Hungarians are louers of Horses, and have excellent good ones; they are curious in their armes and attire, cuento delight and pompe.

They had rather fight on horse-

backe then on foote.

They are most greedy of honours, and have a great ambition

to bee feared by others.

By imitation of the Italian arts and dispositions, they are thought to have learned the Italian vices, and to perp:trate their wicked renenges

Ms

with the same arts, and the like maliciousnesse. You would suppose them most easie men to embrace friendship; but whether it be true or false none can be better Judges then they themselues which enter into those friendships; seriously considering whe. ther they have deserved so to be beloued : or whether that Nation so skilfull in taking of advantages, doe pretend friendship, the better to perpetuate some intended mischiefe.

There is a Magistrate among them of great note, whom they call the Palatine: he of himselfe hath not power to decree any thing, but may resist the King when hee determines to enact any publicke matter, which is altogether voyd if the Palazine game his woyce against

ic. To him the most of them giuegreat honour, as to the farporter of their liberty, and one opposed against the Regall power; no otherwise then of old the Roman Tribunes were ordained as curbers of the Confuls jurisdiction. From hence might you fee that the great and fivelling spirits of that Nation, would never brooke a hard, and volimited power over them: vnleffethey be forced (as it appeares in those Hungarian Prouinces which the Imke now posicsses) to an awe of their soneraigne Lords by so sterne a discipline as doth for euer reaue them of any hope of liberty.

The *Ulyrians* and *Dalmasians*, whom we call the *Istrians* and *Slanonians*, are feated open

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the shores of the Adriaticke sea" Towards the Land they border vpon Pannonia. That Region is unpleasant on the backe of the great Mountaines, vpon whole ridges cold Winter doth perpetually tyrannize. But that part of the Country, which is seated in the valleys, is of a milder temper, and well stored with Villages and Castles.

They are Nations that line vnder the command of others, and having beenelong accustomed to diners Lords, doe for the most part follow their manners and dispositions. Part of it, is subject to the dominion of the Austrian Princes; much of it that lyes by the sca-shore, the Venecians are masters of; and the rest is under the Empire of the Turkes: from hence it comes that their habits

and manners are partly Germane, partly Italian, and partly barbarous, according to the severall Genius's of their soueraigne Lords.

The Region is almost not visited by any, saue onely that in their hauens at some times they dee harbour ships, which are failing from Venice into the East, and returne from thence agains into the Adriaticke.

The other places doe not at

all inuite strangers.

Those souldiers which are leuyed from thence, are renowned for valour and great audacity, especially in the Turked army; and few but they, are ascribed at Constantinople into his guard of Ianizarics.

At the North-side of Hungary is Poland, which stretcheth from thence to the great Ocean, and bordereth vpon Russia. A country, which though wonderfull spacious, yet no where almost hathany mountaines in it, and from plainenesse of it, is so named; for plainnesse in the Sey-

thian tongue is called Pole.

Their fields lye out in great Champion-plaines, which in the Winter are conered with deepe Snow; but when the Snow is gone, are very fruitfull in Corne, not onely for the vie of the inhabitants: but their graine transported by sca to many countries lying along the Baltike seas, duth supply the dearths and barren season of other Nations. Their Winters are raging, and strongly congeale both their

grounds

grounds and rivers: because the violence of Northern winde, wanting the repercussion of any Mountaines, bath, as at sea, a free passinge in the open ayre, besides their necrenesse to the Northerne Pole, where the force of the Sunne is very feeble, especially

cially in Winter-time,

But Nature, for their affistance, hath afforded them great and spacious Woods, which doe not onely furnish them with Fyring to expell the cold; but within their couerts doe nourish beasts, whose skins for cloathing afford them forres of greatest price and esteemation. This double affistance have the Polanders against the tyranny of their winter. But their woods do yeeld them another benefit; in which there are at many places a wonderfull number of fwarms of Bees.

They are wilde Bees. hined, or kept by the care of no man; vpon plaine Okes, or trunkes of other trees they hang by clusters; there do they build their houses of waxe, and fill them within with most delicious hony. From this alone is the countrey exceedingly, and with great ease, enriched. Their waxe is merchandife to other countreys, and of the honey they themselues doo make a kinde of drinke, which they esteeme very delicious. Some provinces of Poland are too full of rivers and marishes, in fo much as that in Sommer-time they are fearce accessible : but in winter, when the waters; are frezen, they have Sleds.

in which they passe with speed vpontheice. With those therefore they traued the country, & that is their time of tradique with forreine merchants, who come to buy their waxe, their furres and whatsoener else is of price and value in so cold a country.

They want stones, for the most part to build them houses; their walls are of timber, and their houses 100 es couered with thatch, except only their chiefe Cities, and palaces of Nob'emen, which are adorned as curiously as that countrey can pessibly efford. But the Poles, vnder a rough clime, line hard lines, nor are the dispositions of the people composed to the elegancy of

our age; and from thence also are they of more cruell natures.

Their Innes to receive stangers, are farre different from the manner of our Countreys: they are brought into a roome altogether vafurnished, and commonly where the wall is digged thorow to affoord light, and stand open to the violence of winde and winter. There are no beds for the guests to lye vpon, nor tables for them to eat on; but the walls are full of tackes, where the guests in order may hang those burdens, which they have brought with them; and the ground is strowed with straw, which is entended for beds in those Innes. Therefore whofoeuer doetrauell thorow that countrey, do

accordingly provide themsclues as if they removed their dwellings with them; their meat, and other provision, together with their beds, they carry in Waines with them; that besing entertained in those naked larges, they may with their owne provision defend themsclues against cold and hunger.

They are a Nation borne to cruelty and licenticusnesse, which they call liberty; infomuch as they can scarce yet bee brought to abrogare a Law vuspeakable bar barisme, which for many ages bath continued

among them:

By that Law it was appointed, that whosoeuer had killed a man, should bee absolued from all feare of justice, if hee

did

did throw vpon the carcasse of the dead man a certaine fumme of money, which in that Law is mentioned. Nor would they fo basely have prized the blood of man, if our of the cruell fiercenes of their barbarous Genius, they had not judged the murder of man a flight offence.

They doe abhorre the very name, nor onely of flauery, but of obedience to a just and law-

full Scepter.

Their King by force of armes is compelled to observe their

Country-lawes,

The Nobility haue bestowed vpon themselues most mischieuous prerogatiues, by which they may fafely abuse and hure each other; because the King hath not power enough to punish their offences in that kind.

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kind. They are wedded strangely to their owne fancies; nor doc they take to themselves a greater licentiousnelle in manners and vacuill connerfation, then in opinions of religion, and heauenly matters; of which, euery man without any feare will both thinke and speake as himleffe liftech: Which proceedeth furely from an abominable confidence they have of themselves, and are ashamed to learne the best wisedome from another mans direction, from hence it is. thar their mindes at this day are divided into so many schismes, &. have among them all the herefice which polluted former times: enery man is eager in praifing of his owne family, especially if heelightwoon Arangers altogether ignorant of his fortunds.

They are apper to bee outragious, then deceitfull to any man, and themselves easyer to bee ruined by fixed then force.

Beyond Poland, Ruffia lyes. ouer which the Prince of the Moteouites doth reigne. The Empire is named from the city Mosco which by reason of the multicude of inhabitants, and feat of their Emperour, is the head of Ruffin also. It extends in a long and spacious eral from the Ocean to the Caspian sea; and borders upon divers fides both with the Polimians and the Swethlanders; vpon other sides, the Tartars are their neighbours; a Landcondemned to long and piercing cold. Their ground, which the Snowes had hid, is not restored till

vill the Spring bee farre spent; and then fucceeds a cruell Summer, which strining (as it were) to redeem thele delayes which the long Winter had there made, doth ripen their fruites with a most suddaine heate, but not so kindely as the trees in our Countries. It is almost beyond beliefe, that Melons should ripen there, which among vs require not onely a very hor, but a continued Summer. There are many woods in the countrey, and in them beafts of most precious Furres. They have store also of waxe and hopey, which are the chiefelt merchandifes of that country: There are many inhabitants. but yet not aniwerable to the largeneffe of the Land which they policie.

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They are a Nation borne for feruitude, fierce vponany shew of liberty; busquiet, if strictly kept vnder, and refusenor the yoke. They doe freely confesse theselves flanes to their Prince, and that both their estaces and lines are at his disposing; the Turkes are not in a more fordid and base subiertion to the Scepter of their Ottoman Emprours. They esteeme also of all other Nations, according to their owne Genius. Strangers also that either by chance or on purpose doe come into Moscouia, are condemned to the same yoake, and forced to bee flanes to that Prince; who if they goe away, and bee caught againe, they are punished as fugitiues. The great men, although themfelues bee flaues, are very proud i vii toward

toward the common people; and . they very fearefull of the great mens frownes. The people are reported to bee so ignorant oflearning, that few among them have the ordinary prayers of the Church vnto God, by heart. They are fitter for warre, then peace, & for the most part are in armes; either to repell the inualions of the Tartars on one fide: or on the other, eyther to inuade or keep off the Polonians: in this age they haue beene much busied in ciuill warres among themselues. Their battailes confist all of horsemen; they vie no foot for this reason, because they place the moment of all their designes in celerity : with great speede they both asfault & fly. When once they begin to feare, they are brought to vtter desperation; so that when they

flye from a battell, if the enemy ouertake them, they are farre fromaking of the least resistance, and doe so absolutely yeild themselues into the Coquerours hand, that they doe not so much as beg their liues. They are remisse in punishing of thest, though senerally they executer obbers.

It is a wary Nation, and very cunning in deceiving others; nor are they ignorant that Merchants doe in that kind suspect them; whom that they may get to have the better opinion of them, in their commerce oftentimes they feigne themselves to bee other

countrymen.

They are exceedingly given to drinking, and besides their country drinkes, they have Wines brought them from forreyne

parts.

Their

Their Wives live in great bondage, detained strictly at home, worthy also of greater affictions.

They are (according to reporty of fuch incredibly seruile dispositions, that they measure the kindnes of their husbands, by the number of the stripes they give them : and neuer thinke themselues so well, as when they fall vpon men of fierce dispositions. A meane fellow of Germany trauelled into Moscouia, and (if in such a trifling tale you desire his name) he was called lordan. He continued there, and liking the country, married a wife in it. Whom whilst he loued dearly and by all kindenesses sought to gaine mutuall affection from her; she with a sad dejected

countenance did often figh, and expresse other tokens of a forrowfull minde. At last when hee demanded the cause of her sadnesse, professing that hee had beene wanting in no office of loue to her. Why (quoth the woman) dos youlo cunningly counterfeit affection? doe you thinke I know not how little you regard me? and withall she began to make great lamentation. Heamazed at this, began to embrace her, and still asked her wherein hee had offended, and if perchance hee had done ill, hee would hereafter amend the fault.

To this his wife answered, Where are the those stripes by which thou testisses thy lone? For husbands among vs by beating their wives, doe expresses their their loue and care of them. When lordan heard this, amazement a while suppressed his laughter, but afterward when they both vanished, hee thought it his best course to vichis wife as thee had preferibed; and not long after, hee tooke occasion to beate the woman : shee appealed with stripes, began then earnestly to loue and observe her husband. But hee could keepe no measure, but grew more cruell then his wretched wife desired; and at last with an vnhap. py stroke (they say) broke her thighs and her necke also.

Germany, where it is washed by the Balticke sea, borders upon the Cimbrian Cherseness, and through a small distance of sea sur-

neys the other Ilands, which make vp the same kingdome of the Cimbrians. It is called at this day Denmarke; from thence is but a short cut to Swethland; to which on the North ade Norway adioyneth. And these are the regions, out of which so great Nations, samed both for their multi-ude and victories, rushed like a whirlewinde ouerail Europe. From thence came the Gimbrians, Tentones, Goths, and Vandals; by whom Italy, Libya, Spaine, anda part of France were fore afflicted.

But of later times those Colonies that came from thence, were called Normans (that is, Northren men.) By these Britaine was long possessed; and much of France wasted

with fire and sword; but there atlast, aftermany dangers, peace was compounded, and they feated in Neuftria, which they afterwards called Normandy, fo that nothing in Europe escaped their fury; and being terrible to all, they were commonly accounted to bee inuincible. How it should come to passe that so great a multitude, and a spring (as it were) of Nations should at this day grow drie, it is vacertaine. But fure it is, that now in those countries, townes are very rare; and they are so farre from fending Colonyes abroade, that when they have warre, they are enforced to vie forraine fouldiers. I could beleeve that those barbarous Nations, frugall in old times in their bar-N 4

raine soile, and ignorant of vices, encreased in Children; and because the vnfruitfulnesse of the soile denyed nourishment to so numerous a people, they did often fend out their young men to feeke out new plantations: which then men of all ages did defire. But now by that mad vice of tipling and furfets they have overwhelmed their genitall strength, and can beget inhabitants for no more then their owne countries. They exceedethe Germans in drunkennesse. When they awake in the morning they fil their stomacks with a wonderull hot kinde of drinke, which by the fire is extracted from Wine it selfe. When they are thus refreshed, the fumes of that hot liquor ascending into their heads, doe canle

cause sleepe; their rest is but short, and then they returne againe to drinking. Then they drinke Wine or Ale, as many a like it. That time that remaines till noone, they bestow in businesse.

At last they meete at dinner, which by continued discourses they make no bones many times to prolong till supper time; from thence they are carried to bed, neyther apt to doe nor receive wrong.

They breake no promifes, when their hands are given.

There are among them many footesteps of the German language, but more of their German manners and behauiour.

With inhabitants: their lines

N.S. they

they spend for the most part in hunting; no connery affordeth Timber more fit for masts orplankes for ships. It is a rude Nation, and with most men infamous for witcherast.

They by report can fell winds, which those that saile from thence doebuy, equalling by a true prodigy, the sable of Viffer

and Aculus.

They have cruell winters, and very dangerous to those that are not aware of them. A benumming aire, with little or no feeling, doth seize the body; that before you perish, you can scarce know that you are perishing.

From this plague, by a memorable example, was He deliucred, whom God had ordained to bee Monarch of all Bris-

SAINE.

taine, lames, as then but King of Scotland.

Fredericke the fecond King of Denmarke had espoused vnto him his daughter Anne; but she sailing to Scotland, was often cast backe vpon the coast of Norway, by the force of chance, and cuill spirits that railed vp windes at the command of a witch; who afterward suffered for her offence.

The King being young, and a Louer, impatient of delay, resolued to saile vnto his Wife, and in midst of Winter entered that sea so infamous for Ice:after hee had long struggled with weather and tempests, he arrived in Norway. And not long after the shippe that carsied him, as if it had beene fee wpon the land, hard frozen vp

with

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with yee remained immoue-

The thing was told to King Iames, who had presently a defire of seeing this unusual sight. For about none of his Britaine shores doth the sea freeze.

There was (the weather being faire) a hauen not farre: from the Kings lodgings; he went therefore along, the. windes neyther blowing, nor the aire (as it seemed) very violently cold; and beholding a while the frozen sea, hee returned into his chamber, suspecting nothing of the danger of the Winter. But when hee drew neere to the fire, one of those that stood about him. looking by chance vpon the Kings sight hand, perceived that: that finger that was next the thumbe, to bee blue, pale, and bloodlesse; and knowing the condition of that aire, cryed out to the King not to come neere the fire; the ayre, fir (quoth hee) has hurt you, and benummed your finger, being inthis case, the fire with an vnseasonable heat will quite vndo it. The plague of this cold must bee expelled by another cold. The King wondering at this, denyedat first that he was hurt at all; for hee felt no paine : but hee shortly perceived, that bee was well aduised. For the finger grew ftiffe and dead, losing all sence and heate of blood.

When hee defired remedy, they told him there was at hand

hand a certaine cure, which with a short, though cruell paine, should restore his health, and that hee must indure it, vnlesse hee would rather lose his finger, which was Aricken with that pestilent Winter: then there was fuddainely brought him a veffell full of snow, not melted by the fire, but thawing fostly by the heate of the Chamber. Into that, the King aduised by the inhabitants, thrust his finger : when on a suddaine, a cruell paine creeping thorow the founts of his lately benummed finger. had almost put him out of pazience.

His paine was that, which first taught him how sence was restored to the finger. By this meanes the King was made

· 1450年

of Mindes. 2

whole; and being admonished of such an vnlook'd for mischiefe, hee could afterwards more easily auoyd it, or cure it. For notlong after, his right eare, as hee rid, was

care, as hee rid, was taken with the fame malady.

**

The

The ninth Chapter.

TVRKES and IEWES.

The Turkes, a barbarous people, borne to the de-Aruction of Cities, Arts, and Learning, haue prospered more by our vices, then their owne vertue. This publike calamity of the world, by barbarous violence, multitudes of men, and obedience to seuere discipline hath growne great. Their beginning was from Scythia. which wee call Tartaria. From thence they were called as stipendary aides in the dissentions of Persia, or of their owne accord fortooke their barren country, invited by the

neighbouring regions fertility, and with a wonderfull religious obedience followed the fortune of him whom they made their captaine. To him they gaue both themselues and their estates, eyther neuer acquainted with liberty, or now voluntarily throwing it away from them.

Nor are other Nations more constantly obedient to their good and lawfull Princes, then they to that horridtyranny, to which they have condemned thefelues; vnlessethatnow it is thought, the extremity of that reverence is by degrees abated vnder Princes vnworthy of it: or that the affections of people being too violent, are never constant.

They first seized that part of Afia, which heretofore was faide to abound with all delights; and from thence vnder Amurath sayling into Europe, with the aide and shipping of the Ligurians, that famous Greece, the ancient seat of the Muses, became their prey. But they by the harshnesse of their dispositions striuing against humanity, continued still in the ferity of their ancestours, that you may know, a ciuill Climate may harbour sauage people. Whilest they stuck in Bithynia, or afterwards in the shores of Thrace, on either side the two emulous Empires of Greece and Trapezos, which, vnlesse they could vanquish, would vanquish them, stirred up their barbarous courages, being then

in the heat of their first victories: where (to our shame) they ruined those mighty enemies, and chose Constantinople taken by Mahomer, the chiefest of their Monarchy, beeing delighted with the situation of the City in the borders of Assaud Europe, as also the convenience of a most stately haven, and the same of that Empire which so many ages had there slourished.

That which remained in the East, was either possessed by the Souldan, who to his kingdome of Ægypt, had ioined Syria, and the neighbouring regions to was under the Porsians, whose Empire from Euphrates extended to India. The Persian was to the Turke an open enemy, and in continual

and cruell warre with them about the bounds of their Empire. They both made league with the Agyptian Souldan: but Selymus the Turke, thinking that the Soulden did more religiously observe his league with the Persians, made that an occasion of warre against him. Neuer in so short a warre was there gained a greater victory for spoiles, for men, and Countreyes; and which is more, a constant possession of them. For by two set battels, and one tumultuary fight, all the dominions, wealth, and armes of the Souldan, were by fortune translated to Selymus. From hence, hee grew more terrible to Perfia, and began with a scornefull pride to ouerlooke the wealth of Enrope.

But returning from Syria in triumph, hee ended his life by a sharpe disease in the same place, where once hee fought a battell against his father Baiazethe as if his fathers Manes had claimed a reuenge. But prefently Solyman, more furious then his father, inuaded Pan. nonia, and taking Buda, which is the head of Hungary, hee presumed to beliege the An-Arian Vienna. But the pleasures of Constantinople did by degrees mollify the mindes of those Princes, and auert them from our ruines. But wee in the meane time weakened with warres among our felues, and emulation of nations; blufh not to expect from the Turks hands warre or peace, daring to offer nothing against them,

but contented if not prouoked, wee send Embassadours to those tyrants of Constantisople, to fue for leagues and purchase peace; whom they either through pride, or hate to our religion, esteeme not worthy of their audience, or scarce their fight; and thinke it toomuch below the dignity of their Empire, to send: (for a commerce of mutuall friendship) their owne Embassadours into Christendome. But as the felicity of so many victories hath raised, almost beyond humane greatnesse, the maiesty of the Turkes Emperour ; so, (which is wonderfull) it hath made the people wretched, by whose hands and strength the Empire was raised. For when the Ottoman Princes were yet low:

low, and contained within their campe, almost their whole nation, then furely what prey or dignity they would divide, must bee dauded among those fouldiers, nor had they any beside those Scythians to joyne in friendship with. But their wealth increasing, and they free in choice whom of their owne or conquer'd nations to preferre to gouernements in the commonwealth, their greatest konours are neuer bestowed vpon the ancient race of Turkes, the posterity of those fouldiers, from whom the Ottoman family received together with the Empire, a power to beenow safely vnthankfull to them.

Wee cannot tell, whether through disdaine, or custome (which

which among barbarous people (is in stead of religion) or through secree policy for security of their Empire, it come to palle that great gouernements, dignities, and places ofiudicature are conferred on none but those which are borne of Christian parents. From Dalmatia especially and Illyricum, Boyes and Girles are taken from the bosome of their parents, to bee cloistered vp in Constantinople. There they change into a mad superstition the religion of their fathers, which they cannot remember, and beeing circumcifed, are trained up in the religion of Mahomet. Andthis company so taken by rapine, are to the Turkish Emperour as a feminary of Capraines and Princes, to whome the guard

of his person and the Arength of his Empire is committed. From hence are taken his Eunuchs for neerest services, and therefore there not contemptible. From hence are his wines and concubines, and alwaies the mother of that heire that must succeede in so great an Empire. Out of that band hee chooses husbands for his Aunts and fifters, to beget Coufinsand Nephewsto him. And so farre is it growne aduantageous nor to bee borne of the Turksh race, that those chiefe places in the Empire, which those that are borne of Christian parents doe hold, neuer devolue vnto their children. And for no other reason, then that they were borne to the Lawes and Rites of Turkie.

This doth that Nation suffer so much deiected euen in their

owne indgement.

The Turkes are of a rusticked and base nature, not worthy of liberty, which they care not to acquire. The Law of Mahames forbids them to pouth their rude minds with any humanity of learning, that so being ignorant, they may be drawne with more ease to the madnesse of that Law which hee hath preseribed.

Their chiefest care is about their houshold stuffe, their stockes and heards of cattell. Their buildings are scarce for wse, much lesse for ornament, eyether yet mindfull of their Scyabian originall, and that wandering kind of life, or else because they are but tenants at will, and

at the Princes pleasure must remoone not onely their dwellings, but their countreyes. By an inbred effection they doe wonderfully adore their Emperout; they can him the shadow and image of God.

The cruellest in that Nation, and the greatest haters of Christians, are not those that are derived by a long pedigree from the old Turkish race, but those that lately have revolted from vs; the other (they lay) are of a milder nature, but farre from our dispositions.

There is no where more subtilty in poysoning: and it is scarce credible with how much art they doe extract and temper the strength of venomous things; nor doe they destroy any man that way, but in a won-

O a der

derfull subtile manner, euery man in that country alike vicioully studying how to give or anoyd death by poyson. Who would beleeve it? they require not a talt nor touch, a little aire corrupting the vitall parts will bring death, and that a quicke one. A Bashaw lately had bought the government of Aleppo, of some that were gracious in the Court. It is a City not two daies iourney from the Cilician sea, enriched by the frequency of merchants, and traifique from the East; from whence merchandise is brought, partly by the river Euphrates, and partly by land-carriages. From whence the Gouernours get great wealth, and rob the Province as licenciously as they buy the place dearely. When this man

therefore was fent to his gouernment, another with greater bribes had corrupted the fame courtiers, and was appointed to succeede the other, who had scarce as yet tasted the swectenesse of his government. The Gouernour speedily hearing of this newes from his friends, was (as is likely) fadly strucken with it; having as yet scarce got any thing to recompence his cost in buying the place. Hee theretore calls a counsell of his friends, and among them complaines of the losse of his estate, and the perfidiousnesse of the mercenary Court. He seemed in doubt, whether hee should obey the letters which called him backe to Conftantinople, or relift his successor by armed force; and fo with a

new fumme of money eyther to obtaine parden for his boldnesse of the Conftantinopolican ~ conrtiers or elle not to furviue his honour, and estate. Whilst in these cognations hee was anxious and reging, the taithfulleft of his frie ds call a him aside, & bade him to do nothing rashly; he tells him it hee resit hisfuccessons, it would be cenfured rebellion; that in their state there was no crime so hainous, as not onely to denv, but delay obedience. Take (layth hee) a fafer counseil; meete thy riuall with gifts; and left hee shouldsuspect thy bounty, complaine to him that thy fortunes by this vntimely succession are almost funk, yet thou preferrest nothing before obedience. Entreate him to receive the Prouince

nince which he is fent vnto, and accept, as a pledge of friedship, those gifts, which thou in hospitality bestowest on him, and that hee shall make thee sufficient requitall for them, if hee giue the his letters to Con-Rantinople, signifying in them that thou without delay did'st refigne (according to command): he gouernment, priuiledges, City, and Pronince, into his hands; among thy gifts (quoth hee) there shall bee an handkerchiefe, which I have, of rare workemanship, but anointed with a most mortall poison. If thou hold this neere to his face, as to shew him the clegance of the worke, that the least insensible vapour may but come to him, I will promife thee hee shall never governe

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in Aleppo. The Governour takes the counsell of this subtile fellow, and with great pompe meeting his successour, brings him into his house. There, among other blandishments of his treacherous liberality, hee shewes to him the fatall hand. kerchiefe curioully wrought with sike and gold. The other with ioggazes at the instrument of his death. From thence they goe to supper; but the traitour subtilly tells him, that betimes in the morning hee would beginne his iourney for Constan. einople, and got from him letters the same night, witnesses of his obsequious entertainement of him, for the wretched man was not a little taken with courtely of so bountifulla predecessour; and so when the night

was well spent, they went to bed. In the morning the new Gouernour not able to resist the poisonous ayre which hee had drawn from the handkerchiese, lay in his bed a dead man; nor did the cause of his suddaine death appeare to any, but to those that contriued it.

When this mischiefe was done, the murderous Bashaw fends letters to Constantinople, both those in which his succession had signifyed his kinde entertainement, and others of his owne, to signifie the others death, entreating that now his government & Province might be cottinued to him; which he cafily obtained, fortune rewarding with felicity so great a wickednes. In this cruell wickedly wonderfull art, you neede not more

admire their exquisite study and wretched fubtlety in poyfons, then the corrupt manners of the Nation, people fold by migistrates, law and right meafured by money, and other milchiefes of the basest tyranny; there scarce lie any actions against bribery and oppression: the great magistrates doe roo cheaply efteeme of the injuries which the common people suffer, and thinke them not worth renenging, who by continuance of flauery, and education according, dare not so much as repine at the milery of lo abject a condition.

I wonder at nothing more among the Turkes, then that men that so constantly anerre the immortality of soules (that they may from thence lesse va-

lue their lines) doe give themselues licence to act those crimes, which Nature, euen without a Law, would abhorre. Yet to relieue the poore and strangers, many of them are very forward; for these offices of humane compassion, houses enery where are builded, for the ficke or weary to abide in; and maintenance, eyther from the publike charge, or private mens Wills is given to them; nor are wee, though they thinke vs, and call vs dogs, debarred of that humanity and reliefe. They doe wonderfully renerence their parents; and though at any time they be iniurious to them, yet the remembrance of life received from them, preuailes aboue the sharpen see of the iniury. They eare much

meate,

meate, and are more carefull in adorning their bodies then their mindes.

For all those lusts, for which they are infamous, there is lesse fault in them then in their filthy prophet Mahomet, who by his Law forbids not such concupiscéces too much inbred in mortalimen, though restrained by the lawes of God and modesty so did he thinke to allure that military people, but yet (as beeing Easterne) effæmimate in pleasures. So that, by wretched ignorance of vertue, they are exercised in these vices, as being allowed to them. Nor is cruelty seuered from their lust, especially in their Prince, who challenges to himfelfe, aswell the blood, as the wealth of his subjects.

The

The Turkish Emperour passing thorow Constantinople to hunt in the adioyning fields, spyed at a fouldiers doore a young youth wantonly glancing his effeminate eyes. The lust of the wicked Prince was kindled, and hee commanded the Youth to bee taken, and carried into his pa-. lace. But the souldier that abufed the boy, love overcomming his allegiance, ventured himself to rescue his Catamite, & with drawnsword relisted the Princes ministers. But what could one doe against a multitude? The Emperour that vsed to be bloodily enraged at any difobedience of his men, yet cenfured not so ill this souldiers violence of love; but gave him a farme in the country as a price for the loffe of his boy, and com-

manded his stipend to be increased. Immediately the Prince burned in lust with this Catamite, and kept him not onely for his pleasure, but ranked bim highly in his friendship. Which when the fouldiers heard, hee defired much to see his once-deare loue now in such high honour. Therfore by entreaty and gifts hee prevailed with the guard at the doore, that when the Emperour dined in his garden, hee closely at their backes might fee him and the youth together (for hee was alwaies admitted to banquet with the Emperour.) At the appointed time hee came: the Emperour after that country-fashion sate downe on the carpets, and by him the impure Catamit, proud with too great rewards of his unchassity.

The souldier by chance vnwarily stept forth from his lace, so that the Youth spied nim, who remembring his old eruice, ranne speedily to him, and kift his hand. The Empeour, when the Boy returned, starting vp, and viewing him with a sterne front, and furious eye, asked him whither (false as he was) hee had turned. Sir. (quoth hee) to my old mafter; whom I could not chuse but falute at least. Immediately the Emperourmad, that hee had a Rivall, with a short sword, which hee wore about him, thrust the Boy thorow. But when he faw him fall, hee fell vpon him to the Earth, and with his beeft couering the wound, hee bewailed his death. The fouldier presently was

304 commanded to dy, as being the occasion of so great sorrow to his Prince; but hee breaking thorow the tumult, escaped by the fauour of the guard, and lurked in concealement till the Emperour was appealed. So that no tyes of friend-ship can bee safe from such fell tyrants, who valew not onely their owne fafety, but euen their pleasures, aboue the lives of their subjects.

But the warresin that Nation are now but moderately followed, and not with the fiercenesse of their forefathers, fince their Emperours were idle, whose presence heretofore put greater courage into the fouldiers. Their Pratorian bonds in Conflantinople, whom they call Ianizaries, discontinued from the exercise of true warre, in idlenesse

and city-delights, are growne to a mutinous, but forthfull boldnesse. Hence the proud souldiers beginne to lose their discipline, as not fit to endure either labour or felicity. These were the vices that made the Romans heretofore finke vnder their owne greatnesse; and this Empire perhaps, the windes now cealing, which swelled her sailes, will finke vnder her owne weight and vices. But those of them, which gouerne Ægypt, especially the gariton at Grand-Caire, do with great praise exercise the glory of their old warfare; for, remooued farrefrom Court, they are exercifed to daily labours, in curbing those troopes of robbers, which from the mountainetops vie to make rodes into the valleyes. But But these souldiers valiant onely against a troope of slying thesues, and yeelding enemies, if they should fall upon the streng, hos our armies, would perhaps we the swiftnesse of their horses, in which they excell, not so much for battell, as for their owne safety by

flight.

That vse of the bow (the special streng hos the Turke) which was once so formidable to the world, is now neglected; I suppose because this art cannot be attaine without much sweate and labour of the body; and at this day, the son discipline ceasing, will not buy valour at so deare a rate. Their bowes are short, and cannot be bent but by those that are skil-

full; but they discharge their arrowes with much more violence then our Cannes do their leaden buillets. We law inneed (and could fcarce credit out owne eyes) , piece of flece, three in hes thicke, pierced by alittle arrow. And no lesse wonder was it, that a shaft wanting an iron head, flot from a bow, thorow the body of an indifferent tree, appeared at both sides. This art was taught to a min of great account among vs (when hee was at Constantineple) by an old fouldier of Solymans; who confessed, that skill by the slothfulnesse of his fellowes was quite loft, and that there were scarce three in that vast Empire, which were carefull to preferue in themselves that fortitude of their

their ancestours, hee sayd, the rest had weake bowes, and onely dangerous to light-armed men.

If wee would make vie of the benefit of God, and their vices, what were more easy then at this time to wrest those wealthy Provinces out of their barbarous hands, their old fury, which they accounted valour, being now forgorten? This do those poore Christians, who groane under the yoake of their barbarous tyranny, expect fro vs, being a great multirude, but destitute of armes and leaders; this, our temples and rites of religion which they wickedly have abolished; and lastly, humanity extinguished, and countries once richly tilled. now rude and defart, nor euer, vnleffe

vnlesse by our aide, able to regainetheir old lustre. But if any bediscouraged, to thinke of so many attempts, and so much wealth heretofore vainely wafted, whilft our ancestours ftriued to redeeme Syria, Palestine, and Agypt out of the hands of Saracens, and as often with great forcestaking expeditions against the Turkes; let him confider that they were more vanquished by emulation among themselues, then by those encmies. To let passe the Grecian Princes who were alwaies illaffected to our Western soldiers. how often haue wet by vaprofitable hatred wasted our owne Brength against our selves? It were not fit to shame this age with late examples, nor curiously to rehearse old calamities. Th

The morral diffensions of the Franch and English in those warres, shall bee argument enough of guideand caution.

Richard the irl King of England furnamed Corde-lion, led an Army into Syria, and having reaenged the wrongs which Cypius had done him, hee had driven the Souldan to extreme feares, who was aduising to deliuer vp lerusalem, and so make peace with the Christians; when loe, Philip King of France, futnamed An. gustus, returning himselfe from Syria, illaffected to King Richand, marched with his army into Normandy, (Normand) was then under the crowne of England) and affaulting his rownes, some he tooke by force, others by feare, and faction. So King Richards

Richards intent on the pub-Whe quarrell of Christendome, was called home into Europe to preserve his owne cliare; and the Saracens at that time were by meanes of the French. delivered from the Christian army; who were afterwards be holding to the English for the like benefit. Forfcarce an age after, when Philip of Valous, King of France, with all the ftiergth of his Kingdome was bent vpon this Pious warre, there came to loyne with him the Kings of Nauarre, Arragon . and Bohamia, and many besides, whom eyther the Arength of their kingdomes, or the holynesse of the warre had invited.

Their Fleete lay at anchor, which carried forty thousand

armed

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a med men, and victuall for three yeeres; their army to march by land was \$60000. men. But this so great preparation, and hope of the Christian world, was quite hindered by Edward the third; King of England, who at that time began to lay claime to the crowne of France, as the inheritance of Isabel his mother. So have we turned our streng hagainst our owne bowels, and vanquished by our felues, have given triumphs to Turkes and Saracens. These are most sad chances, but great is the comfort, that wee haue yet strength enough to destroy that barbarous Monarchy. Nor need all the Christian Princes ioyne in this; there are many of them that are alone sufficient to gaine this victory. Wce

Weeneede no innumerable Army nor a Ficetto orespread the wid: Osean. A man of fingula judgement and proweffe, and by long experience, well acquainted with the Turkish affaires, was not affraid to promise to his King, that if hee would give him a Ficete, and an Army of thirty thousand, with pay for two yeeres, and victuall for a yeere, hee would reduce vnder his dominion Peloponnesus, Enban, &the greater part of Achaia; which valeffe he performed, ho defired that that Army which was committed to him, should take punishment of him for deceining the King, and by most cruell death revenge the rashnesse of his vaine promile. The same hope of victor ry there, and scarce with so

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much charge, nor long fince was giuen to a great King by a most expert Captaine, a man both for dignity, and blood, worthy of the charge of fo great an expedition. But death prevented his great defigne, and doubtfull it was, whether by poyson or no. Both these Captaines grounded their hopes vpon the ftrength and warlike discipline of our souldiers, the number of Christians there, and their prayers imploring our armes to their reliefe; and laftly, the flothfulnesse of the Twee, who hold by no other title the fame of fortitude, then the memory of their ancestours not yet wholy expired. But it was the aduice of those Capgaines, that this firebrand must be throwne into the ene-

mies bosome; and not stand to defend our owne bounds, in which, the greatest reward of victory is, to remoone the enemy from our Countrey, who will afterwards returne more fierce vpon vs. But if subdued, our owne bondage and our Countreyes is present; and therefore they would not have vs stay in Hangary, but marching peedily to encampe our selucs in the midst of Greece or in Thrace. This kinde of making warre, many of the ancients vsed; so Hannibal in Italy conquered for Carthage: and Scipio in Affricke for the Romans; folastly, the Turksthemselues have conquered those Nations, whom now they gouerne, by carrying the warre into their countreyes. Nor did the Franke by a flow remound war, as it were, at the entrance falute Gallia, nor the Normans Brittaine, a kingdome stronger then themselves, but broke into those countreyes, sharing (as it were) before the victory, the

reward of victory.

Besides many helpes which wee have to this warre, our anceflours wanted: They fought out the enemy in the farthest East, then swelling in his first heats of victory, whom wee may now finde in the bowels of Hungary, and the shores against Italy, waxing old as it wereina full, and shortly-ebbing fortune: which wee may know by this, because hee doth not encrease: And wee are taught by the errours of our ancestours, encefeoure, so that those very things, in which they sailed in those expeditions, may bee all cautions to vs of better disci-

pline.

Now also the enemy vrges ncere vponvs, that wee may almost consult only in this, whether wee would vanquish or bee vanquished. Young Ashmet who is now their tyrant, thinks of warre, and threatens Tranfluania, either wearyed with hisidlecesse, or to gaine esteem among his subjects, he bends his thoughts vponthis expedition; from thence arises a great danger to vs, when military discipline, languishing among them, may by these incitements bee raised up againe, and a Prince hichertoflothfull, and voluptuous fleshed with the taste of

P 3 victory,

victory, may come on more

hotly to our ruine.

They say that Charles, the last Duke of Burgundy, spent the first part of his age, not onely free from warlike Actions, but in a wonderfull loue of quiet and repose; afterward, when France was fired with that warre, which they called the publike good, his affections were turned fo quite contrary, that no part of his life was afterwards free from military action. God forbid that Achmet should be raised to such resolutions. But who in fo great a danger, would not thinke it better to take armes, whilst they haue not yet shaken off their Lethargy; then to stay till they grow expert by vie, and swelling with victories, should from the middest of Italy and Germany (which Godforbid) aduance their fatall ensignes, to impose a common stanery vpon vs all? But if Achmets owne kusts doe call him backe to his slothfull idlenesse, not extruded by vs, nor hearing our Armes within his Countries, surely wee shall owe this (almost shamefull) safety not to our owne vertue, but the gist of Fortune.

After the Tarker let's come to the lemes, even in this regard, because they esteeme vs below the Tarker. Wee asked a lem, Of whom hee had the better opinion, Christians or Tarker and could not but wonder at the impudence of the fellows for in the place where hee was, hee durst not speake ill of Christians.

ans, yet hee could not hide his minde; but certainly 6 quoth hee) the Turkes are content to bee circumcifed. They are a vagabond and scattered people, Lords of no Prouince; a nation eager and able in getting wealth, Arenuous in all merchandise, and thriuing by wicked viury. Wherefoeuer they are, they ferue; and their mindes tained, that were heretofore so fierce in maintaining their liberty, do now stoepe by custome to this low condition. They baue enery where mixed their manners. and to their owne disposition. (in which with greatest obstinacy they continue) they adde the Genius of the place where they are borne. Their mindes are obstinate in their owne superstition, and scarce can they (how

how much soever they counterfet) beetruly converted to our

piety.

Their bodies are commonly said to stinke, and that not without reason, for they viea strangenalty carelesnesse both in their houses, and apparell, and some strange, vnusuall vapour exhales from them. In greatest wealth they never rise in apparell, either fearing our enuy, or louing a parity among themselues. This is a great argument of their servitude, that they are allowed no where to possesse land or armes.

And justly do weetake away frength from so hostile a people, who, if they could preusile, would punish us farre worse.

The Mirrour

Now having reckoned vo. and called (as it were) to a cenfure all those people, whose mindes and manners it behooweth them to know, that must converse in publike among men; let vs come to the seuerall kindes of wits and affections: which as they doe not altogether, or of right possesse any one Nation; so, scattred in all Lands, they abide in many men, and

are both the feedes and the nourishment of vertue and. vice.

FINIS.





The Tenth Chapter.

That besides the Spirit of the Countrey, enery man bath a proper Difosition and affe-Stions given him. The shiefe of them may be found out but all of them cannot be Written. Of wits that are strong at sodaine jests and Sensences Of others that flow in a natural and facile Eloquence. Of men of a flow, and dellberate Wisedome. I hatthey are most perfect which are placed betwixt those two. Whither those mindes are best which are fittest for letters, or administration of publike bufineffe. Delicate A A

The Mirrour

Wits are not so fit for centinual and daily labour, as those of a flow and depressed capacitie.

Sunder those Chimares, Lawhich by reason of much cold, and moist ayre use to produce people faire and gray ey'd, yet some notwithstanding, as if neere neighbours to the Sunne, are of duskie vi-Sages: and in those Regions, which being foorched with the Sunnes violence, set a blacke and thicker tincture on the bloods of their inhabitants. the fairenelle of some men differs from the ufualltawning le of their Country: So among & humane people some mindes are rude and rugged, others partake nothing of their countrie

tries barbarisme. There are some grosse mindes in a cleare ayre, and some cleare mindes in an obtule climate: Nor hath any region the influence of fuch happy or malignant flarres, but that fhe may finde a pattetne of all vices and vertues in her inhabitäts. For Narure harb granted, belides the Genius of their native Countrey, fomething proper to every man : and by a great myracle, among so many ages, and names of people, hath found out for every man his owne lineaments, that may distinguish the habite of his vilage and minde from the Ikenelle of other mindes and bodies. From hence can no man sooner by contemplation finde out the wonderfull play of nature, varied in the mindi and affections of fo many men: than a painter in his tables can include the formes and fimilitudes of all bodies. Yet let it bee lawfull for us to furvey, as eminent trees in a thicke Wood, the chiefe kinds of dispositions and affe. ctions, of which men use to be composed, and by them wholly swayed, and notably distinguished from other men.

Nor shall it bee a superfluous meditation to recount, and examine so many different rankes of men; in which every one may finde himselfe, and see as it were in a sequestred mirrour, what himselfe would eyther wish or feare to bee. And fince no kind of disposition

disposition is so neare borde. red upon vice, and leaning to it, but by the raines of prudence may be restrained, and kept in the right way : and none so neare a kin to vertue. but by ill usage may bee corrupted; it will be good to conremplace the affections of men as they are attended with sood or ill, and fearch out how arre they may be hurtfull or waileable; lest we be missed mmoderately to praise some: ind too unjustly to undervaue others.

As we recount the dispositions of men, those of a sudlaine and extemporary with hall be our first; those, that wosten as they list to speake, an in a suddaine facetious discourse run through an argu-

Aa 3

ment.

ment. These men, if they want just weight (as many times it is) as neyther eloquent by study, nor wife in counsell; but then onely Ocators or Philosophers while they talk, may bee valued at fuch a rate as these wares which becing vaine and useless of themfelves, doe by an adulterate varnish cosen the beholder. Of them there are two kinds; some in private and close difcou f's excell with a short and flinging wit, ever intent upon the follies of other. The other fort comes nearer to the dignity of cloquence, and whenfoever they please pub. likely or at home to discourse, their wit is like a torrent, and their memory doth opportunately prompt them with all things

things that they have either feene or read. The bravery of both these sorts is admired not onely by the ignorant, but sometimes by those of better learning: when they see many jests and sentences with great case and suddainness show from such men, which themselves not without much paines and study are able to expresse.

for whom can we imagine to come nearer to the image of industry and elegance, than those suddaine witted menne (to beginne with them?) What is more elegant than to finde a pretty sentence for every argument? What more courtly than to answer all that is done or spoken either with

a suddaine jest, or such a wisedome as being easie and at hand, is pleasing for the quicknesse of it ? If this graceful. nesse bee joyned with a faire personage, and a secure (though not immoderate) boldnesse, it will be prædominantin all focieties, and bee pleasing even to those men which are hit by the jests; nay the noyle of it will drown the true and exact wifedome ofablest flow men, But this felicity in speaking is troubled with its proper difeases. Take them from private company, from suddaine and breken fentences, from bandying of wir, to an argument of longer discourse: then out of doubt thou shalt contemne the barrenge (e of their empty) mindes.

mindes, not being furnished for true and lasting wiledome Nay if those very concise sayings and fine fiashes, which thou admirest in them, were Written downe: that they doe not onely come forth by fits and vanish againe, but be examined by judgement; how idle and toolish would those things seeme, which by a vaine praiudice, and grace of celerity did before deceive us? Therefore in those men there is no deepe and lasting river of wit, but suddaine flouds of Nature; for as small waters from high springs straightened in their pallage, doe fall with the greater noyle downe: so these sparkes of wisedome , which would presently expire, unlesse they Aas were.

were caught, doe flye with a more vigorous noyle out of the custody of these narrow mindes, which are onely happy in such a kind of abortive wildome.

But the other fort, which are copious in longer eloquence, and fitted continually with an unexhausted store of words and fentences, are famous men among the pcople, when they are heard in publike affemblies, Churches, or pleading. They are pleafing also in private society, if they bee able to bee fomesimes filent. But as all living creatures by a fecret infligation love to be doing of that ahing, in which they are most able; so these men especially delighted in their owne eloquence,

of Minas.

quence, wherein they excell, can hardly cotaine themselves within a meane when all occasions of discourses are a that you may justly wonder, that fuch ab'urd men should speak 19 wel!. When their tediousdiscourse is done, and they fee those men whom their discourse hath wearyed, to looke cheerfully they doe not confider that the other areonely glad to bee dismissed from the trouble of their te !ous talke, but thinke them. ravished with a pleasant admiration and goe away refolved to entertaine them in that manner againe the next time they meet. Thefe large minds, opened by Nature it felfe to the Series almost of all things, are never exact, or shoroughthoroughly foaked in knowledge, but curforily they tafte of all things. And as an Eccho can neyther keepe in those last words which it receives, nor dive any farther into the fentence; so these men with a wonderfullease, and before they are aware (as it were) are guided by Nature to the first glympses of allthings and Seiences, but they are scarce able to doe, or (almost) to defire any thing perfectly or exactly in them. I should chinke it a great argument that it is only chance & heat, not judgment of the mind, which brings from them fo great a copiosity of things, and undigested elegancies; fince wharfdever they chance to discourse of, they never faile faile of this pompous plenty of words and fentences. But whenfoever their memory, even in the very course of their speech, prompts them with any thing, they presently divert to that, and anone to another matter, as it happens; and at last, lost in many subjects, they remember not the original of their discourse.

They therefore beeing of wandering minds and settled in nothing, are usually unable to attaine not onely to the highest Prudence, bur even the common discretion of other men. Some of them are immoderate prasers of themselves; others not helpefull to their friends nor themselves in those offices, which disgent

diligent and fetled industry should be fitted to. They are for the most part unconstant, and as they waver in actions, fo they eafily fly from those cpinions, which they feemed Arongly addicted to. Yet notwithstanding, as they carry a great thew of a polited fposition, adorned with all: kindes of science; in matter of fame and wealth, they ofcentimes possesse the rewards which are due to true wifedome; especially if they doe understand their owne faults as well as abilities, and know subtilly how to hide, at least from the common peoples. eyes, their ipots and imperfedions. This especially is attained, if they can governe themselves in talking, and not wander

wäder whicherfocver their defires carry them; and, because by eloquence, as the best condiment, all things are made gratefull to the eares, let them. by a nice deflaction fit divers discourses to divers men, and alwayes of that nature as may bee able to goe beyond the hearer; as for example, among Souldiers or men ignorant of antiquity, let them discourse of divine points, of the rites of the ancients, of the criginall of people and Nations, and whatfoever hath a show of the most gracefull curiofity in the feiences; among Schollers which have onely lived in study and contempletion, not employment; let them talke of the fates of people and Rulers, and the Genius of Princes; and lastly contend with no man in his owne Art. Noris it unpleafing in the mixing of difcourse, to fall upon those things which are Brange and unknowne to the fociety; especially since new things are pleafing, and we conceiverfually a higher , and more reverend opinion of that which we doe not know. These Oratours are in heaft danger when they converse with men of a low and narrow disposicion, who reverence every ching as facred and miraculous, which a bold elequence puts upon them. Therefore they alwayes take those parts which, according to the conditions of the hearers, they thinke most advantagious to their

their fame. Which is therefore easie to them, because
their diffused wits are capable
of some instructions in all
arts and sciences. Nature, &
little use enabling them to
speake not improperly in all
things; though they cannot
bee sayed to bee learned in
them, but onely not to be ignorant of them.

But for fuch Oratours, to write, is commonly as hard and fatall to their fame, as to speake is easie and gracefull to them. For to that easily fluent eloquence the strength of judgment is seldome in owned, which must continue the stile gracefull to posterity. For their prompt, and almost turbulent mind, when in that leyfure, which is given to

Writers, it revolveth it selfe; is overladen with the multitude of sancies that meet, and consusedly oppressed with its owne wealth, can neyther write all which it doth invent, nor indiciously elect the best.

Lastly, the way of writing is so different from that of fpeaking, and requiring other kind of Nerves, that even he who by a Arong eloquence could freely run over what he lift, in writing doth make but vaine Groakes, and fuch as men in thei: dreames attempt. Yet blinded and co:rupted with their owne and others flattery, they doe many times, by an itch of writing, destroy that same which they had gotten by eloquence. They should doe better for themthemselves, by farre, to keepe the world in a long expectation of their writing; than to publish bookes to the hazard of their same.

By these cautions, that lively and foreading minde may conceale his owne weaknose from the peoples eyes and ricinanopinion of wifedome, whether hee bee able to governe himselfe (which you shall not often see) or will admit counsell, and bee quetat the perswasion of his friends: asthofeathat are but halfe drunke doe yet know that they are not fober, nor will they with too stubborne and obflinate a confidence refuse the admonitions of their friends.

Contrary to these men is another fort, who see me at the first show as farre from that vertue which is truely in them, as those eloquent men doe from the imperfections, to which they are borne. These men when there is occasion to speake suddainely, have a speech tardy and hard to come off. They doe often flicke, and are fquibbed with iests and taunts, which like little darts, are in daily difcourse throwne again't them by the fe feddaine and nimble witted men. Nor doe their words onely come flowly off: but when heir opinion is required, they are to feeke, and doe not fadd sinely find what to de ermine. But when their mind is recollected, and redu-

ced into it selfe to meditate; they can dive with fubrilty enough into the depth of affaires and businesse, and conceive fit words to expresse their meaning. There is in them a deepe firength, opinions true and profitable, nor adulterated with Schoole-Sophiftry; but most worthy if they be schollers, and use to write, to be delivered by themseives toposterity. But in this.fortune hach dealt ill with them. that fince in the first entrance into speech or businesse, they resemble men of a dull and narrow soule, they are oftentimesky mosteniust prejudice neglested and contemned. Therefore the greatnesse of their minds being sometimes unknowne, doth want the favou-

favourable hand of Princes to advance them into employmen's and honours wer hy of their industrie, even as the lustre of most precious wares, if they be wrapped up within bese bundles, without a trile, can draw no custon ers a: all 4011. Therefore for those men it dsa molt profitable course, to make their way well, that their inward w 1th of wind may be knowne and these Clouds removed which Na vre had placed in the entrance to it. And this they may attaine unto ey her by writing (for what is ha elfe but displaying a Table of the Soule) or by dayly exercise to firre up the edge of their flow wit, that it may bee knowne to bee as great and frong frong as it is; and last of all by as inward and long a familiarity as they can, to sioyne themselves to those great men, who by that long experience may not onely understand what abilities are in them, but advance them when they know it:

Beiweene thefe inconvenient extreames of gravity and levity, is the most worthy disposition, and sit to reach the height of humane einity. They have a modera e elequence, then shewed, when it is needfull and more perfect is is, when they have time and fludy : but in their familiar conversarion a discourse ready and cleare not troubled at all with his Station. A Arength of judgment

ment not very much involv'd and flow; but though it be good on the suddaine, yet after delay and consultation it is farre stronger. This is the man is built for vertues, and made to expresse private and publike wisedome; or if hee give his able mind to vice, the weight of such an extraordinary villany, which way soever it leane, doth fall with great danger.

But great mindes from these which are darke and ignoble, are in this distinguished by nature; that the first knowes his owne dignitie, and does all things freely, with an erected (though modest) spirit, ever contemplating somewhat that is eminent and full of vigorous maidly i

jesty: but the close and obscure mind condemnes it selfe to bee imprisoned in narrow. cogitations and counsels, never daring to depart from his fearefull humility. In small matters, not exceeding the measure of his mind, hee is exactly diligent; and there is fitted to that disposition a kinde of policy, not noble and high, but such as we see in the least and weakest creatures, carefull to keepe their, owne.

There are fome among learned men, who eyther favouring their owne endowments, or deserved with the benefit of learning (which all but the very Barbarians know to be wondrous great) deny that any mind is to bee

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esteemed great, but that which is capable of letters, or can possibly attaine to just perfections, unlesse it beeadorned with them. By this meanes they exclude from the ranke of magnanimity and true humanity, men famous for publike vertues, and borne to governe people, if they be (forfooth) unfit for the subtilty of learning: a great errour, or rathermadnesse; for they may on the cotrary more truely affirme, that no man is fit for civil affaires but one coceived in the riches of nature: but many vain and fuperfluous witted men in the Schooles have arrived eve to the highest praise; such whose nature confined, as it were, within the boud of some one science. of Minds.

is dazled at the spledor of that profitable Prudence, to which all other sciences must give place; unlesse you thinke not him more truly wife that can play the augur among his Ci izens, & fitly compose the comotions of the people, than him, who by a perpetuall contemplation doth nothing but observe the eclipses of sun & Moon, the courses of the stars, and vicifitiudes of the yeare. Those men themselves, who do with such absurd praises extoll the Muses, doe not account that man only absolute, who is adorned with all kinds ofscience; but count it enough to make him so, if he doe excell in any one kinde of learning; as if an excellent Oatour bee unfit for contro-B b 2 verted

verted Philosophy, or if a Philosopher be not capable of eloquence, and altogether ignorant of history and Poetry, yet they will not exclude him from the number of learned and excellent men. That praise therefore, which any one part of learning may gaine, how dare they detract from that Science, which confifts in governing the people, and is farre more excellent than any thing belonging to Mankind! Doe they thinke that wisdome speakes to her Schollers onely in Greeke and latine, and not rather by a secret inspiration, containing the worth of all languages? It were a poore thing to be borne of an excellent mind, if that excellency

lay in nothing but a disposition fitted for Academicall learning. Those, whom we account the first Authors of learning, did not sweat in the Schooles, and yet we thought them borne under good stars-To compose the manners of the people, to strengthen their Countrey with wholefome countell, to examine forreinerites, and transport those that are good, into their owne land: to observe alfothe motions of the heavens, least the seasons of the yeare, for profitable uses of the people, should not bee knowne: This then was learning, and this our letter'd men doe but onely imitate. For when those ancients did strive to teach humanity and Bb z vertue

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vertue to the rude mindes of the ignorant people, civil Philosophy by that meanes had her originall; when they contended against each other to perswade the people to this or that action, eloquence had then her beginning. Lastly, whatdoth history, but leave the Prudence and subtilties of those ancients to our now learned men, as their fuccessors, if they be men of action; but if they be of mindes unfit for businesse, then as to registers onely, and enrollers of the ancient vertue. For to reade history onely for contemplation, is a vaine and idle pleasure, which passeth away without fruit: but to imitate the vertue of those praised men, is the true and publike learning.

I will not deny but that is indeed a most absolute accomplish'd Soule, which is framed both for the Commonwealth and Learning too. For then these two endowments doe by their mutuall ayde, advance each other to the skye. His high and active policy doth governe his learning, that it grow not light, nor bale: his learning againe doth arme that policy, that it should not onely trust to experience and knowledge of his owne times, but makeuse of the skill and labours of antiquity.

But if any man, as sometimes it happens, fit for publike employment, and to ayde his Countrey, have no felicity at all in learning, hee

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is notwithstanding to bee esteemed of a higher order and elegance, than hee, which is onely capable of quiet learning, and Schoole subtilties, unfit altogether for civill difcipline, which is most usefull. Infomuch, as Favorinus may bee thought, rather Philosophically than jestingly, to have measured the knowledge of ADRIAN by the greatnesse of his power. The Emperour Adrian was ambitious of the fame of learning, and lighted by chance upon the Philosopher Favorinus. Hee being provoked in argument by the Emperour, answered sparingly, and as if hee yeelded, that the Emperor might freely tryumph. His friends blamed him for yeelding fo foone;

foone; but hee replyed, that they were deceived; for why (quoth shee) should not I thinke him the most learned, which hathtwenty Legions? The Philosopher spake not this without good groud: for to governe discreetly so many Legions, was a point of higher science, than to finde out any thing in the Schooles by the strongest and most exercised head in Contemplation.

But the splendour of wit, as of all things else, is often spoyled by too great a considence of it selse. For many conscious to their owne weaknesse, doe endeavour by labour to obtaine that, which nature had denyed to them, and by dayly diligence doe so Bbs mould

mould and frame their minds, that at last they excell those, which were borne happily to great matters; but considering too much the strength of their owne mindes, have abstained from labour, asathing not necesfary to them, but altogether Superfluous. There is also a great difference even bewixt those, who by indu-Ary endevour to perfect their wits.

For some of them, whatfoever they purpose as their
study and labour, are busied
onely in the maine and highest
points of it; but doe not so
much as let their thoughts
descend to the lower and less
necessary points. Others
are overtaken with a con-

trary errour, who fearing to leave any thing behinde them untryed and undifcovered, doe so strictly search into the least things, and are so desirous perfectly to scanne whatsoever they learne, that they cannot make any great Progresse in their entended Studies, nor ever arrive at the true and liberall knowledge of that thing, whose every part they have fo superstitioully defired to discover.

Besides, all wits have not the same strength of patience to endure continual labour. For the more substill and apprehensive that the minde is; so the more casily

eafily it penetrateth into any learning; but is dulled the fooner eyther by greatnesse or continuance of labour. fuch mindes are not kept in thicke constitutions, but such as are open, and fit to receive aeriall draughts, and pervious for the passage of animall and vitall spirits; who as more fubtilly they can display their sharpenesse, so by their thinnesse they vanish, and are only repayred by idlenesse and recreation. And of fuch men not onely the labour, but eventhe recreation is precious, as filling their discharged mindes with a new strength, and for the most part storing their loose and wandering fancies with high, and ferious cogitations. As the felicity of rich Fields, when they lye untilled, doth sometime of it owne accord plentifully and wantonly produce such Plants, as are not inferiour to the best Garden Fruits: So thought Cos-MO DE MEDICIS, a sufficient Author of Prudence, the Founder of that flourishing Two Monarchie. Hee had taken his rest quietly, and without care as it feemed, till it was late day; when one of his friends comming in by chance, found him as yet betweene fleeping and waking And where (quoth he) is that Cosmo, to whom wee, as to an Argys, have committed our Commonwealth? Hee does not use his eyes so much as in the day time. I have already dispatched all my businesse both abroad and at home. Cosmo replyes; Doest thou thinke that in diligence thou hast outgone mee, whose very rest is more active and profitable than thy labours?

Yet some norwithstanding are exempted from this fate; and, though men of great capacity, can endure continual labour ; few they are, and bestowed by Nature as her dearest guifts upon the publike affaires, who can exercise their deepe and piercing wits in lasting diligence, able to undergoe perpetuall employment, and not confounded with the different face of businesse; so that they

feeme

of Minds:

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feeme to bee borne as a releife to humane imbecillity, and a prefervation of Common-wealths.

The

The eleventh Chapter.

Of valiant Mindes, rash, fearfull, proud, sordid; close and reserved, open and free; of inconfant mindes following all things horly, but not long.

Mindes undaunted in dangers, and confident in themselves, are as eminent among the common sort, and exalted above others, at as greata distance, as Beds in Gardens, or hillocks in plaine Fields. But that disposition is at equal distance seated betwith the confines of good and ill; and of it selfe affordeth

deth nothing to those, whom it possesses, but a froward heat, to make them excellent in what ever they follow, vertue, or vice. For those men on both fides, by true valour, or rashnesse, (two affections of kin, though much different) are stirred up to the pursuit of vice or vertue. Rashnesse hath almost the fame appearance and countenance that valour hath, and doth oftentimes so farre deceive, that those, which make themselves the judges of great mens actions, doc (which you would thinke unjust) measure them almost onely by the event. How many Souldiers of the baselt ranke, because they have survived the dangers they underwent,

derwent, have attained the fame of warlike knowledge, and that dignity which accrews to it? Others have beene accused of dotage, because upon the same projects, and in the same dangers they have beene ruined. Therrus. Gracebus by the love of the people and his owne power. was ambitious to beea Lawmaker, & by a combination of the Nobilitie was put to death; the like destiny his Brother Cajus tasted; they therefore, say some, were men of unadvised rashnesse. Cajus Gasar by popularity and bounty winning the people, attained to the Soveraigne dignity; hee therefore was accounted a valiant and wife man's

man. King AGIS contending against the Ephori, was strangled at Sparta with a base halter. CLEOMENES boldly by the deaths of the Ephori, did establish the royall dignity. What shall wee censure of both their a Rions? Chance, or vertue? But this instance is an especials one: ALEXANDER the Great. having quieted Assa, had defigned part of his Army to gne, and keepe Europe in obedience; and the other part to flay with himselfe, least that any Commotions might arise in the parts of Malia.

The Souldiers not knowling upon what reason the King divided his forces, do all

arife

arise in a fierce mutiny; and casting off obedience, are not at all moved at the presence and speech of Alexander. But he boldly, eyther through wrath, or policy, leapt from his Throne amongst the maddest of them, and with his owne hand drew forth to punishment those men, that had most sawcily contradicted him. That Majesty, which could scarce preserve his perfon, while hee fought to appease them, did then guard him in the act of punishing. This action of his by the consternation of his relenting Souldiers, was renowned for high vertue: But GALBA the Emperour going boldly amongst his mutineying Soldiers, was slaine in the midst

of the Market place. Shall wee call this valour or rashnesse? So neare, or almost confused is the reason that mixes this vertue with vice; or, to speake more truely, valour is oftentimes forced to take the wayes of rashnesse: and then scarcely can it bee vindicated from the suspicion of that vice, unles the happy fuccesse make it honoured: or hee, that was driven to that dangerous necessity, have by a long æstimation of prudence, deserved to have it thought, that hee used not rashly, but by the præscript of judgementt, hose extreame remedies which fo nearely trenched upon the vice of rashnesse.

Therefore this affection, when it is wary enough, is corrupted with too fatalla confidence in it selfe; despifing all things with too great a fcorne, and lyable to the mischiefes of pride: apt to boast, not carefull enough either to avoyd hatred or gaine love, but running headlong with a mad violence, untill the indulgence of fortune, and successe of rashnesse bee wasted, and no longer able to beare him out. But where this affection can keepe a meane, it growes up into most eminent vertue, and raises the courage onely in that case, to value the dangers of life and safety, lesse than the infamy of forfaking their duty, or betraying the cause of piety.

piety. But if any man with that undaunted courage can joyne meekenesse, and have the power to bridle choller which commonly waiteth upon the strength of those mindes) hee is then a man of a most excellent and accomplished focietie; and beeing awfull in Peace, shall by his ability procure a reverent feare, and by his mode rationa loving respect from all that converse with him.

There is another kinde of adulterine boldnesse, but more safe; which may sall upon spirits of the basest ranke; when they dare to doethings, not with their owne, but others dangers. This, but in name onely, doth

almost in nothing agree with that courage which weedescribed before; and yet notwithstanding hath not beene enough to raife undeferving men to fame and glory. None are more beholding to this boldnesse, than Generals of Armies and Physitians; one by the danger of their Souldiers, the other of their Patients doeattaine fame. And indeed how many, not onely Generals, but even Tribunes and Centurions have not hunted for fame by the bloud of their Souldiers? A hard condition of those common Souldiers, whose praises must be all intercepted by one man! Yet the policy of men in that kind is excusable to preserve the Generals, by whose wisdome,

more than the strength of the Souldiers, the foes are sometimes vanquished; and the Souldiers upon this condition are entertained, that whenbever the Commonwealth needes them, they are to powre forth their Mercenary lives. But Physitians not by APOLLO the Father of AESCULAPIUS, norall :he Muses, together with A-POLLO, can sufficiently bee excused; those, I meane, who hasty in acquiring of wealth and fame, love not their Patients, as the sanctity of their calling, and mutuall affection of humane fociety doth require: but esteeme them as Sacrifices to their owne gloy, by a villany, which is afe, and therefore the oftner practipractifed. They use untryed and suspicious medicines at the perill of those, whom they come to cure; not content with the fure rules of Art, and præcepts of the ancient, but acculing antiquity, as it they would (if they may be trusted) invent a new art under their owne names. If fortune this way doe affift their rashnesse, and the medicine given eyther for destru-Ctió or health (for they know not themselves which) doe good eyther by chance, or the ftrength of nature in the Patient; they straight have gotten among the people a fame of certaine, and almost divine knowledge; and many others by their deaths shall pay for the cure of this one man; while these Physitians due then sinne more boldly and even with the applause of dying men. But this Tragicall boldnesse ariseth not from that disposition of minde, by which couragious men (whether valiant or rash) are carryed upon high undertakings. For boldnesse or valour is not to bee terrified with a mans owne danger; and to feare in the behalfe of others, is humanitie.

Contrary to this cenfident and undaunted minde is the timorous nature; which as fometimes it is carryed upon honefty, fo most commonly it turnes to vice. For if it bee Cc 2 a to

altogether joyned with floth. as loving security of any nature, it then degenerates into the basest vices, and is altogether unfit for vertue, or for privat or publike busines. But it is hard, unlesse onely when dangers are at hand, to know fuch cowards; because that, knowing in themselves this base feare, they strive with diligence to hide the signes of it, and cunningly counterfeit bold speeches, challenging (as it were) all dangers, when they fee they are farre from them; but injuries, affronts, and reproaches they can put up, as well as feare. They tremble at every show of threatning fortune; nor do they strive to decline those evils, which they feare

of Minds. feare so much, by a valiant and constant endeavour, but by a dejected and ignoble way. They esteeme the vertue and force of every man, although untryed, above their owne. They hate all men, and yet admire them with a fecret veneration, which is not onely against their wils. but unpleasing to them. But, when they may safely, they are very cruell; eyther to counterfeit courage, or that their base and narrow natures are prone to revenge, or elfe to prevent their future feare

by destroying them that might afterwards threaten them. But their countenances are kind, and much different

from their inward cruelty: fo.that you may thinke them

like Cc 3

like quicke-fands, covered with fill waters, but deepe and devouring in a storme.

But especially, where a Prince is altogether of this timorous nature, his Servants, and Subjects have just cause to suspect that softnesse of minde, which seekes indeed to give content, but is not fafe nor happy eyther to himfelfe or others. For even those men, that durst insult over the captiv'd disposition of their fearfull Master, doe sadly at the last suffer, in satisfaction of contemned Majesty: and the Prince himselfe, though hee fuspect those, whom his inbred cowardlinesse makes him fore, though hee ·give them respect more than is fitting: yet he hates those

men,

of Minds.

men, and sometimes breakes out against them (letting himselfe loose wholly as it were) with a storme as suddaine and violent, as before basely hee had yeilded to them. But to have the Servants and Subjects cowardly, is oftentimes of great moment to secure the Majesty of the Prince. But then he must not governe them with too gentle a hand, least they think he feare them: nor provoke them by too harsh and unseafonable commands, as altogether despising them; for a dangerous infurrection may bemade, even of the molt cowardly men; where every man, in so generall a mutiny, is bold, not trusting to him. felfe, but his fellowes spirits.

But Cc 4

36 But if any man be so borne to a fearefull nature, that yet notwithstanding by prudence and wisedome he can acquire true valour; and where there is need of it, temper his naturall feares; he is not onely farre from basenesse, but worthy of exceeding admiration, that can change a weake palfion, and most commonly bad, into true vertue. A notable example of feare, joyned with thesestrong vertues, in our fathers memory, was a great and renowned Souldier, to whom France in her Warres did owe much. Stout he was of hand, and wife in counfell, yet at the very approach of fight, when the enemies

were in fight; filled with a

representation of the danger,

his Body was so loosened, that he needed a private place to empty himselfe both of his excrements, and his feare; But when hee had recolle Aed his spirits, so skilfull hee was in marshalling his Souldiers, and so couragions in fight, that you would doubt whether he performed better the office of a Chiefetaine, or a common Souldier. At the end of his life also, his noble (though calamitous) courage proved to the world that fuch a pittifull feare may fometimes bee joyned with true valour. For that tragicall battaile of Pavy, where King FRANCIS was taken Prisoner, and the French lost their hopes of Italy, was made more sad by the death of this Cc 5 noble

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noble Captaine. The day before this overthrow, the King called a Councell, and, though himselfe were eager of fight, yet desired his offi-cers to give their advise. This old man did exceedingly perfwade the King to Itay for supplyes, which were already leavyed, and neare at hand: defining him not to throw into hazard (especially at a time unnecessary, and in a forreine land) the estate and welfare of France: that their confultation was not onely for the Kings honour but his safety. There was in the Councell a hot young man, who, of a turbulent spirit, was fitter to begin than continue a fight. He alledged, that nothing was more honograble than that

the victory (of which hee doubted not) should bee gained by fight; that the enemies would receive too much honourifthey should beefeared by fo great a King, and fo cheerefull an Army; that the Kings name had already frighted them, and the French horse would at the first onset tread them under foote; hee taunting besides this old Captaine, said, it was no marvaile though an old man, and fearfull, fought delayes, whose minde was shaken with his usuall feares, and now was seeking a passage through his guts. The old man could not endure the scurrility of so immodest a jest; but I(qd.he)seeing the K. will have us fight, wildy to morrow a honorable death.

deathbefore his face; when thou forgetfull of thy brags and rashnesse, shalt by abase slight for sake that battaile, which now thou hasteness on. This sad Prophesie they both fulfilled; for the young man fled basely from the battaile; and the other, through noble wounds in the Kings sight, powred out that like, which hee before had promised.

This wary and modelt feare may not onely bee joyned to Prudence, but is sometimes a great part of it, and very profitable in those men, for whose too too forward and rash spirits the Common wealth might smart. But those men that by this just and wholsome Art can go-

verne their owne mindes framed to fearefulnesse, are usually adorned with a most milde humanity, and full of curtesie; and pious modesty will injure no man; reverencing as it were, even in the baleit and poorest men, the communion of mindes and mortality. They are by this inbred feare, more troublefome to themselves than others. For fecretly within themselves they labour by manly precepts to compose their sicke mindes distracted with terrours against their wils; but openly they neither thinke it seemely to confesse their timorousnesse, neyther through the impulsions of their unquiet feares doe they love to manage any thing eyther

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ther of their owne, or committed by their friends.

The proud and fordid minds are different from the bold and fearfull; but borne as it were, upon the borders of them. Pride the tinder of worst dispositions, breaketh forth divers wayes in manifold and heynous vices, obnoxious to all the tortures of hatred, love, and chiefly envy. Perpetuall and troublesome are the vexations of thosemen, which doe not so much strive to gaine praise, as thinke it is already due to them. They easily suspect themselves to be neglected,& revenge in themselves with most bitter griefe, this scornefulnesse(as they account it) of other men. They know not their

their owne vices, nor the vertues of others. And when men are of this humor, faith, piety, and whatsoever is sacred amongmen, they value below their fame & thirst of honors. And howmuch foever fucceed, nothing breeds their quiet, but carries them upon new, & more distracting hopes: but there is no greater affliction than when Pride fals upon a man of a fearfull & effeminate mind. Shamefastnesse and feare do then restraine his mad defires: and he in the meane time with a concealed swelling punishes him elfe. But this disposition is unfit for friendship and every where unpleasing; unlesse sometimes when pride by the dull and fearfull minds of the common people, is adored for magnanimity. But

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But mindes that arebase, and of a fordid lownesse, as they take no care for high atchievements, so they account nothing unworthy to obtaine their Lusts. They ey ther sleepe in lazy Idlenesse, and the Lethargy of pleasures; or else: gape after wealth with an afflicting defire, that cannot: use it when they have it. With fuch commotions are thefe abject mindes usually troubled. If for a time they bee raised with high projects, and seeme to follow reason, yet straight they are benummed by their naturall fottishnesse, and wallow in their former basenesse. Those that are funke in this disposition, are not borne to beare rule: nor yet are they very fit for obedience; dience; for they repine at other mens vertues, which they indeed doe neyther love nor conceive; and therefore feeke for a kind of freedome, in which quietly, and without the checke of any man, they may enjoy their owne base and narrow affections.

But we doe fometimes favour vices, and give them the names of those vertues which are are neare to them. So rashnesse is honoured for fortitude, and pride adorned with the name of an erected manly nature; and this base dejected humility puts on the colours of humanity, and that fimplicity, which is taught by true Philosophy. But we commonly censure no dispofitions more unjustly, than those

those that are open, and apt to doe things like rashnesse. For upon such men, as if they forfooke modesty, the brand of levity is stucke: and on the contrary, dull and close minds doe among the people carry an image of wisedome; wee censure them both amisse, but not without some shew of reason. But open and active wits are neyther fit for fecret malice nor deceit, nor for the most part filled with that malapartnesse; and other vices, which they may seeme to make shew of. For in fuchmen a defire of fuddaine speaking, and harmelesse jesting is more prædominant, than any malicious intent. They scarce brooke idlenesse, still feriously intent upon fome

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some action, whether great or small; so that this kind of diligencedoth usually shake off those fordid qualities, which commonly grow upoflothfull minds. They canot spare their jests, though against a friend: but the present delight more than any mans wrong, is fought by them. They are gentle, not onely in admitting friendship, but continuing it; and are not hotly led by that pleasure, which flatters most men (as new) in the beginnning of fociety or businesse. Whatsoever they take in had, if they do not exactly perfect it, yet fomewhat and that pleasing, out of their own Genim, they will bestow uponit; especially since what they do, is not wrought with anxious labour

labour, but excels in the grace of facility; as if brought by natures owne accord to its proper decorum. And if in Learning they write any thing, they offend not the Reader with an opinion of too much paines; for the readers doe almost seeme to partake of the labour with those Authors, who are knowne not without much watching and trouble, to force in their fentences and words.

Contrary to these dispositions, which are not at all disguised, but alwayes (unlesse it very much availe them to conceale) by an ingenuous confession betray their actions, are those natures, which by a ponderous secrecy, like to wisedome, doe hide their intentions

ventions and desires. To these men many without further tryall doe allow the name of vertue and industry. For it is a great shew of wisedome to speake sparingly, and by præscript; to bend the brow at every mention of vice; and to affront or injure no man, at least openly or of set malice. And lastly, what can come nearer to the image of an ample Soule, than to feeme by a deepe and continuall commerce to talke with wifdome? For fo would you thinke those men composed, which are given to the forenamed quiet and solizude. But this flow and grave tranquilitie has many lurking holes. into which it receives vices also, whose very names hee cannot

cannot heare publikely without the fignes of shame and horrour (for they have tender forcheads, and not referved like their mindes.) That filent and imprisoned Army of cogitations cannot alwayes be intent on the studies of industry and true vertue. For as the heats and defires of all men decline from labour to the sweetnesse of pleasure, soespecially theires due, as being of a more foft and effæminate nature. Hence comes it that this often and idle folitude represents unto their mindes all manner of pleafures and of vices: in which filthy contemplation they therefore more fecure wrest, because therethey can ficely be conscious onely to themfelves,

felves, and openly, with piety, not very laborious, yet enoughto gaine the credulity of others, adore vertue. But yet doe not thinke that they are alwayes intent in the speculation eyther of wisedome or vices; for, for the most part, those flow mindes doe therefore sticke, because they finde not fit matter of difcourse; and in the meane time by their countenances, their filence, or (if thou wilt) weightinesse (which as the gravest of men, so the dullest of Cattell doe express, they gaine the estimation of integrity and industry.

There is another kind of difposition which containes in it almost al these how differet so

ever, with a wonderfull, but not laudable variety. Yet a brave disposition it were, if nature had allowed it a bridle as well as spurres. And that is of men that run into the extreames of whatfoever their affections leade them to. If they would bee Religious, presently as if it were not lawfull to interpose any recreations among those hely duties, they put on a mortified face, brooking no remission, and a looke of such holinesse as cannot last. They are proud Cenfurers of other mens lives, and measure all mens honesty, by their owne suddaine severity. Then they shake off the pleasure of their old friendships, and cannot brooke innocent mirth, which

which wife men mingle with their cares, as an helpe eyther to forget them or overcome them. Anone, when the Grength of their mindes is broken by too much intention, when they begin to bee weary of this rigid piety, which they fo unadvisedly followed; not by degrees, and ordina y turning tides (as it were,) but like a torrent turning backe, they run againe to their former course of ryot. Then they let themselves loose to plea ures as immoderately, as before they had forlaken the foo'ishly; then they hate the very name of severity, and with all manner of jefts. scoffe at the Profesiors of that rigid piety, which themselves haue lately left. While they Dd

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are thus busied; behold, religion comes upon them a gaine, and with a sad repentance drives away that wantonnesse,; untill they begin a gaine to repent themselves of that repentance. Nor are these frequent and immoderate changes onely in their religion; but in all things else they erre with the same heat. From most entire love they are carryed (as it were with a whirlewind) into extremity of hatred; fometimes immoderate in labour : sometimes nerve-lesse in sloth; so in their loves or lusts, and whatfoever elfe can stirre up cotrary motions in the minds of men. Nor can they governe their speech and silence; if they be taken with a heat

heat of speaking what copany foever they come into, themfelves have all the talke, and are onely heardy. By and by when that mirth forfakes the, which made their minds for overflow with talke, they fit in a lad filence, and as if collected into a discourse within themfelves of fixe their eyes, that they scarce know those that are present, nor heare when they are asked questions; an -æquall offence on both sides to the iweetnesse of humane society, where to speake opportunely, & to be filent onely by turnes, is allowed by maners.

But the cause of so great an errour in those men, is an inward kinde of sweetnesse; by which they suffer them-felves wholly to bee swayed;

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and as that guides them, they avoyd or follow. That motion, upon what matter foever it carry them, how full foe-Jos of banes and laboury yet presents it first to their minds in a most pleasing shape; and overcomming their mindes with a fweet and pleafing viodence, carries them away, and forces them to believe it in all things, and when that show is vanished, and that murable and fugitive sweetnesse is turned another way, they straight follow it. For they are not onely impatient of labour, but of pleasure it selfe, as soone as that inward flattering temptation is gone. But this is a figne of a weake and impotent judgment : la minde formed for vertues, but tis onely for the beginnings of vertues: not hable eyther in faith, or friendship; but every where so unlike to it selfethat it is distalt all Icon neither command it seife, nor deny any thing But it is a sad fate, and ill for the people, when men of this unhappy disposition, exempted from the lawes of seare or modely

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The twelfth Chapter.

Of amerous diffications. How. those affections are tempes red, and semetimes changed by Fortune, and diversitie of conditions of life.

Byt in reckoning up all the affections of Mankinde, it were against reason and humanity to forget Love, which reigning in all breafts (except they bee altogether barbarous) claimeth notwithstanding a more neare jurisdiction over some, and filleth them more with his cares. Love is asweet and restlesse desire to be liked by them, who eyther by chance, or by their owne vertue,

vertue, or by our errour are liked by us; and fo creepes upon us from those ambushes, as it were, that wee sooner perceive our selves to bee in love, than we thinke upon the way of loving. It were not hard in the beginning to shake off this load, if it did not by degrees and fweetly assault, so ensnaring those whom it catches, especially unexperienced men, that they suppose it were inhumane, barbarous, and inconvenient to themselves to shake offby a rough severity. the sweetnes of this flattering mischief. But there is nothing more excellent among men, than this affection, if it bee: rightly governed. For it fets a certain curious glosse upo all Dd 4 vertues,

vertues, and sometimes excuses even vice it selfe. Vnjustly doe severe men accuse Love, and paint him in a loo'e and feeble figure when there is nothing more fince e amongst Mankinde, provided that hee burne in just limits, and those raised by vertue, and fire not with an unlawfull fame where he is forbidden. Nor is this fweet defire ftirred up onely in young men, and in men of middle age; but boyes also in their harmelesse yeares, that you may know that this flame is rather borne in worthy breafts, than lights by chance upon them. And because boyes and youths are lesse able to governe themfelves; and moderate their cares, although superfluous: theretherefore love in them breeds. a greater and more anxious: care. And from hence their minds are raifed to atchievements that are high, and above their age; as if by that experiment they would proove to themselves, that they are worthy to bee beloved. A young youth that went to Schoole, was by his carefull Schoolemasters often admonished to learne his book; but the booke was hatefull to him, that loved play and liberty. A noble Lady by chance came to that Towne, where he lived, with two of her daughters that were Virgins; and because there was acquaintance betweene the two families, this youth was brought by way of visitation Dd s to

to the Ladies lodging. Hee! began immediately to admire one of the young Gentlewomen, then to hold discourse with her, and in conclusion, even the same day, to fall extreamely in love with her. Then first his simple and free minde began to be enthralled with cares. The next day he goes again to the place, where he received his unfelt wound, and by prolonged discourses, fo fed his malady, that hee grew worse and worse. For on the third day the Ladie with all her company going out of Towne, left this youth scarce aliving Soule. And he, poore wretch (robbed even of that ease) was forced to conceale his flame for feare of being chid by his Father, or mocked

mocked by his fellowes. After long confultation within himselfe, he judged no course better for him, than wholly to apply himselfe to his booke; for so he thought he might gaine his Father, and in recompence of fo great a diligence in study obtaine from him a time of recreation. And as a reward of his labour, he had refolved to get leave of his Father, to goe to a faire City not farre from thence; and that was it in which the Mayd dwelt. His Schoolemasters and fellowes began to admire his exceeding diligence; and often demand from whence fo great a change of mind should proceed, and love to learning in that youth, who not long before.

fore disdained the very name of it. For in the morning he would rife to his booke before his fellowes, and was often bid, before he would goe. to play. The heat of his love, which caused this diligence, did make both his labour fo easie to him, and the Muses so fweet, that, before he was aware, he was taken with a love of them. Afterward (as in that age it often happens) when long absence had made him forget the young Gantlewoman and his hot love, an eager desire of learning did still remaine in him. And he following the liberall study. came to fo high a proficiency in learning, that all the Mufes are much indebted to him.

But

But Love a stubborne malady, and not to be cured with that facility, that other affe-Aions are, unlesse it be strangled in the first motion, is hardly removed by any means but length of time; that for wearied it may expire. For while he is in his course, hee findes somewhat alwayes to encrease, and advance the power he holds. For if the Lover throughall his griefes and melancholly thoughts have but arrived at some successe; he would thinke himselfe too cruell to himselfe, to banish utterly so sweet a delight from him. But if a more cruell fortune doe either too long differ his hopes, or altogether take them away; then also his griefe pleases

him, and the minde pittying it selfe, and with fighs revolving the cause of his calamity, melts in the pleasure of fo delicate a fadnesse. But that Love which is hid, is most lasting; eyther where both the parties are secretly agreed; the very sweetnesse of the secrecy doth then please them; or where the Love is not mutuall, and one onely fuffers, who with fecrecy endures his wound. Nor doth the violence of this affection grow onely betweene the different fexes; for So-CRATES loved ALCIBIA-DES, and Ly cur Gus thought it no ill discipline to ordaine that every youth should have his Lover. The chastity of nature leading men to just and

and brave Loves, lookes nor at all at that difference; and you shall see many of the most honest men tormented with a care (or to call it rightly) a love of some young men. And this love is a certaine tye of benevolence amore hot and violent than to bee called friendship. We have then a perperuall desire of instruching them; continuall wi-Thes for their safety and Glory; feare for the successe of whatfoever they doe; and thinke alwayes that fortune. how lavish soever she bee in her favours towards them, doth not recompence their deferts. That also is a fierce and restlesse desire, which strives for unchaste ends to win abeauty of the different

fexe. But yer thinke nor but that examples of most pure chaftity may continue betweene different sexes; although the thing so full of danger, doe oftentimes deceive them; and they themselves by little and little (ere they bee aware, or against their wils) doe loue otherwise the they eyther thought or wish'd to doe.

But the minde of that man, whom Nature moulded for a lover, is milde, expressing in the very countenance modefty; and fimple vertue; of a great but mercifull spirit; not hard to be entreated to spare fupplyants and contemne revenge; exceeding panitent when he himselfe offends; a great lover of offices of hu-

manity,

manity, impatient of idlenesses and all occasions of sloth, unlesses forgetting the great benefits which he hathreceived from Nature, he corrupt the felicities of his disposition with lascivious wantoning, and so idlenesses.

It were a vaine thing to defire to run over the whole variety of nature in humane dispositions; those which wee haue heere iet downe; are as the chiefe Springs, from whence rivolets flow eyther to vice or vertue; that by the knowledge of them you may understand what men may be governed; who are fit for friendship and society, who are to bee feared, and who for their floth or levity not to be regarded. For honesty

honesty & knavery, dispositions oftrue or adulterate wifedome, free and narrow minds. and whatsoever is eminent in publike and private affaires, is by this fortune of affections distributed to Mankind. From this contemplation of mindes vertues and vices shall justly be rewarded : for unlesse we curiously looke into these secrecies of nature, a turbulent disposition will often make it selfe appeare a valiant and vigorous spirit: a dull or vaine minde will challenge the eftimation due to gravity or true; eloquence: and on the other fide, vertue will lye unknown, & at the first fight by the opinion or shew of some vice, be unjustly depressed below that honor which is due to it.

But

But a disposition, which is much referved and hid, cannot bediscovered without a long and prudent fearch. Therefore those, who by the first appearance censure the manners & dispositions of men, do entangle themselves in most fearful errors. For certainly, as in the art offecing nothing is more dangerous than to fight with him that is squint-ey'd (for you can scarce conjecture at what place he aimes his stroke his eyes feeming to turne the contrary way:) so he that will deale with those men, who either by art, or the benefit of countenance câ hide their difpolitions, must long & strictly deliberate within hifelfewhat opinió to hold of the lest if he esteem roo cruelly or favorably

of them, he himselfe doe first rue the rashhesse of his opinion. The face especially doth often deceive unexperienced men

How many of a fierce and formidable countenance have beene unjustly avoyded, as enemies to humanity, whom as foone as ever thou copelt withail, the lenity and sweet neile of their conversation; will turne thy opinion quite contrary? Others by the garbe of their persons, and curiofity of gait thou wouldst imagine to bee composed of pride; who notwithstanding; eytherby nature or innocent cultome have beene brought to it; and under this disguise retaine a disposition most milde, gentle, and shaped to

all the lawes of humanity. There are those on the contrary, in whom, besides a perfon adulterately formed to the show of vertue anthou canft finde nothing to be beloved. Sometimes acountenance betokening quiet lenity doth hide a wrathfull and tragicke disposition; sometimes vigorous eyes have a Soule quite contrary; lalt of all, vices doe ly, as it were in ambulh, under a flight feeming-tin fure of those verxues, from which they most degenerate. ...d. le l'illiant

This great and toublefome knowledge of mindes cannot altogether be defined by pracept, nor otherwise acquired, than by the long expemence of that man, who hach

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improoved himselfe in this art, not onely by his prudence, but his frequent errours.

But especially take heed that by one vertue or vice you doe not in generall censure the whole minde and disposition of a man. For many are borne with fo happy a towardlinesse to one kinde of discipline, that as long as they are conversant in that, no tokens of prudence and industry are wanting in them: but in other things they are fo foolish and absurd, that they scarce seeme of a sound mind; others have one particular ble-mish in such a fort, that being wondrous discreet otherwise in their whole life, they seeme to doate onely in one part or one

one fludy. Nay you must not judge, by the sweetnesse and elegance of their fociety, and conversation it selfe, of their wit and wisedome. For oftentimes in daily conversation men of a narrow minde are lesse offensive than those whom the greatnesse of a cheerfull nature hath made more carelesse; whilest they being distident doe fearfully fet a watch upon themselves: or perpetually study (as being not capable of greater matters) how to frame themselves to a fashionable behaviour:but the other of a more capacious nature, doe either neglect fuch vulgar things, or else carelesly admit some vices as attendants upon their vertues.

But it is not enough to find out this divertity of human mindes, as nature onely hathstamped it. There is a-nother thing beside, that may eyther perfect or change a disposition: namely their e-State of life; either that wretched condition or high dignity, to which every man eyther by chance or his owne vertue arriveth. How many, that were borne to aright and milde disposition, have by the fault of too much felicity corrupted their natures? How many high and vigorous mindes, which, if fortune had suffered, had growne to be examples of all vertue, oppressed by lasting poverty, and cruelty of fortune, have at last forgotten their owné worth,

worth, and degenerated into affections quite contrary? Athenion in his behaviour a publike example of honefty. as long as in the University with thinne dyet and meane cloathing, hee declaimed for Vertue; having once gotten the Soveraigne power, did straight, together with his poore cloathes, put off his Philosophy. Abdolominus having long beene used with his own hands to get a living by dreffing the Garden, when hee was elected to the Kingdome of Sidonia, wished that he might beare his royall fortune with the same modesty and moderation that hee had borne his poverty. Now therefore let us consider also those affections, which by the Ee concondition of Fortune, or manner of life are added to men; and oftentimes doe kill those manners, which the simplicity of Nature oppressed by no calamities, or inticed by no temptations, had bred in them.

The

The thirteenth Chapter.

That there is a difference betweene the Dispositions of
tyrants and lawfus Princes;
and againe betweene those
Kings, who come to their
Grownes by right of Inheritance, and by Election. Of
the dispositions of Noblemen
gracious with Kings.

Those people, who subject themselves to no
Scepter, though they abhorre
the name of servitude, yet doe
not enjoy true liberty. For
they must needs elect Magistrates, to whom they give iurisdiction over themselves;
and the publike power, which
they glory to be in the whole

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Nations, is adored in a few men; fo that in those Countries, where you would think all did reigne, the greatest part are Servants; a fecret law of things dispensing so the frame and order of the world, that by the nerves of one head (according to the rule of the Deity) many members should bee governed This spirit of Government which loves to reside in a few doth more plainely shew it selfe in the Aristocracy, but most of all in a Monarchy whereall the power is in one But that height of power, to which GOD by a secret in Stinct has subjected Men, was not ordained for their fakes which possesse the dignity but those that are subject to it There Therefore when Kings have abused their dignity, according as their pleasures and ambition swayed them; or the peoples ignorance hath not understood their owne cómodity, the name of Kings hath oftentimes grown hatefull, and Monarchy with much blood and flaughter hath been banished out of many Countries, and againe restored.

All those Common-wealths that flourished heretofore, had Kings at the first. But they being expelled by those that understood not true liberty. eyther the blind popular governement succeeded them. or else the rule of the Nobility; that is, many Kings in stead of one. And as a member, which by violence is put

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out of joynt, cannot be put in to joynt but by violence a gaine; so those Provinces which by this meanes had cast off the best forme of government, could not againe. untill they had cruelly payed for that errour, bee restored. & reduced to their first right estate. For in those Comonwealths, some cittizens swelling with ambition, had evther by armes made their names great, or by the peoples error engrossed too great and too little offices; or else had feized into their owne hands the strength of the Common-wealth, and called themselves Kings. But they growing fierce (as it must needsbee in a new and hated State) did so pollute their reignes, reignes, which they by treafon had gotten, that the people for their fakes thought worse of Kings than ever they had done, and the name Tyrant, which was once an honour to all Monarchs, became a word of hatred, and

publike infamie.

But hee, that will confider these affections, which Kings by the greatnesse of their dignity doe nourish in them, must not esteeme alike the state of all Kings. Those different wayes that bring them to their height, doe cause different mindes in them: and those that reigne in a newsetled Monarchy, doe carry themselves in another manner than those who safely, and by the peoples wishes reigne Ee 4

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reigne over a Nation long accustomed to that governement. And different also are the minds of a King crowned by Election (as in Hungary, Denmarke, and the Roman Empire) and fuch a King as reigneth by inheritance, and possesseth that state which his Father, and Grandsires held before him. New kingdoms not well established by time nor the constancy of the people, doe fill their Princes with continuall suspicions. They flatter the meanest subjects. and feare the Nobility, especially whilest they thinke themselves are feared; and daily consider with themfelves that their estate, not yet setled, may by the motion of fortune as eafily be overthrowne

throwne as it was raised. Nor are tyrants onely, that came unjustly to their crownes, disquieted with these thoughts: but those also, who are lawfully chosen over fuch Nations as have not beene accustomed to the name and authority of a King. But this feare is greater in Tyrants. For if they have subjected a Common-wealth, they feare the Nobility, as men that will vindicate their lost liberty, and loath to serve him who lately was their equall: Or if they have invaded a Monarehy, and expelled the true heyres; with a continuall care and vexation they suspect and feare the peoples hearts, as inclining to their ancient Lords. Therefore they dare

not trust their friends, because being privy to their counsels, they know also the means which way their Kingdomes may be undermined: and expect fidelity from no man, fince themselves have violated it. But in open show, and with a garbe put on of fet purpose, they seeke occasions of doing curtefies, and ambitiously affect the fame of integrity, and loue to their Countrey. They are exceedingly liberall to the poore; great punishers of those vices, of which themselves gave example, and lastly eyther Authors or restorers of the best Lawes, and publike buildings for ornament of the Citty; to decline by those meanes the present envy, and infamy of posteof Minds.

posterity.

In this manner a Tyrant is eyther bad by the fault of his condition, not his disposition: or else is good by necesfity. His minde is wonderfully austere, his countenance wilde, his thoughts ready up pon all occasions, especially those occasions which he feares; true pleasure he doth not know, but is led with a hope of it; and with vaine pompe fweetning his inward cruell cares, he doth as it were cousen his owne minde. But a lawfull King eyther by election or inheritance, confident in the right of his royalty, doth not so descend to base feares, or wicked preventions; although perchance hee fall upon turbulent times, mad

mad Subjects, and whatloover elsea Tyrant feareth. But those Princes, which owe their fortune to election, whose royalty continues not in their family, being as it were, private men in one respect, namely as they consider their posterity, doe seldome with their whole care and endeavour fo much procurethe publike good, as those Princes which receiving the Kingdome from their Ancestours, strive to adorne it for their owne Posterity. Therefore those cares which are due to the publicke, they be-Row upon their domesticke affaires, in a piety which may be excused, if they can fiely divide their thoughts, and looke both wayes, fo to rememmember their family, that they forget not their publike charge. But if by chance they hope or desire to preferre any of their owne bloud to the fuccession, then by rewards and curtefie the peoples fuff. ages must be bought; Force must be omitted, and Majesty it selfe layed aside. So by an hidden and troublefome care his minde is a Servant even to those men. by whom in publike hee is ferved and adored. In fuch cares oftentimes for their private family, is the indu-Any of those men taken up, who for their Heroicall vertues, did before seeme worthy to wearea Crowne-

Many times they decline to the worse part,

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corrupting their manners, exercifing with revenge their ancient hatreds and æmulations: when not forgetting who were before at diffention with them, or who were crosse in voyces to their election; their new power, not yet able to governe and containe it selfe, doth swell oneby with desire of revenge.

But if they be troubled with none of these mischiess, yet for the most part they are ambitious to doe strange and wonderfull things, and by the to renowne themselves and their times to Posterity. These high desires may aswell be inconvenient as profitable to the Common-wealth. For as in Apples and Berries too early and forced ripenesse is onely

onely pleasant because of the novelty of it; but the Trees. themselves by such forced manuring, and unseasonable hears, after this fruit is brought forth, doe presently decay: so in publike affaires, especially the greatest, a certaine order is to be observed: and those who pervert or præcipitate those affaires, doe feeme as it were to kill the Commonwealth. Yet notwithstanding elected Kings; almost in all ages, burning with desire of a lasting fame, have eyther raised Warres abroad, or fought to innovate something in their owne Realmes; to gaine a name by their owne boldnesse and the danger of their men; and perchance valuing it at that rate, **Eew** Few of them with Stephanas Battorius the King of Poland doe measure their actions not by their owne profit but the welfare of their coutry. There is a faying of his extant, worthy to expresse the bravery of his disposition; I will make the world (quoth he) understand how much's King chofen for vertue by the consent of a Nation, is better than he; whom right of fuccession thrusts upon the shoulders of unwilling people.

But those Kings to whom most truly this name of Majefly belongs, who leave to their children that perpetuated honor which they received fro their ancestors, & now owing nothing to the peoples vovces, from whom all came at the first. first, may seeme born to reigne with another Genius. But to fearch out this disposition of theirs, that oweth it lelfe only to God, may perchance be too facrilegious a wisedome. Nor is it lawfull forus to pry into thoseaffections, which the power of heave hath inspired into the for governing of the world, for alteration of states, & managing the fates of Mankinde. Somethat are curious may perchance enquire whether it were better for Kings to begin their reignes in their. childhoood, so accustomed to that greatnesse, as a thing borne with them, than to grow upunder the reigne of their Fathers or kinsinen, and afterward receive their great inheritance; whether aquiet and

and obedient people doe forten and spoylea Princes dispofition, while his power has a free swindge; or rather that love of the Subjects doe not endeare the Prince his affections to them, as the master of a family to dutifull Servants. Lastly, if a lawfull Prince, by the peoples ill affection toward him, be forced to fight for his owne right, whether after the victory he will reign eruelly, showing an hatred and contempt of them; or rather strive to appeale them by a mutual respect, as remembring the past dangers to bee fuch, as may returne more heavily upon him. Arguments and examples are not wanting on both fides, (which in the changes of humane affaires) although although proceeding from the fame causes, have not alwayes found the same events.

But it is in vaine to fearch into these decrees of heaven: ler the Kingly height not bee toughed with curious cogitations, but pryed into onely with adoration, as the fecret mysteries of religion were: for it is piety to wish for good Princes, butto condemne bad ones is unlawfull. And feeing moreover that they doe not so much governe themselves, as give way to the fates leading (who by their affections doe ordaine the declinations and growth of States) all art and witedome, that lookes into their Genius, and conjectures of it, is oft deceived.

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The first step from this great height is the condition of Noblemen. Eyther those whom Kings chufe for Counfellours, to share with them the cares of the Commonwealth; or those who by a great and entire ty of love are endeared to their Kings. Through both these, as through the mouths of rivers which discharge themselves into a great Sea, are the defires and hopes of the people carried. But they, as being advanced for different respects, have different wayes and difpositions. Those therefore who by their flower of age, or high birth, or sweetnesse of behaviour, are highly endeared in Princes Favours, have for the most part mindes bent

to please; web although deny'd to their owne affections, they fquare according to the difpofition of their Lord. This is in--deed a wonderfull kind of fervitude, and full of fubtill art; hiding fometimes a base and at ject minde, sometimes a free and bold disposition. Sometimes to follow pleasure, to sport or jest well, is as usefull to them as the greatest labour; Nay even to exercise akinde of state over their Princes, and almost reigne (but not too long and wantonly) doth more kindle the Princes affections to them, who defire as well to be beloved, as to love. For Lords that are advanced to that slippery height of favour, if they know their Prince tobe

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of a foft nature, not brooking enough a continuall use of the fame pleasures, must sparingly bestow their pleasing lookes, or jests, or whatforver in them is delightfull to him; dispensing them in so prudent a manner, that affection stirred up often and by intermissions, may neither breed a loathing, nor by neglect and oblivion be blotted out. But if the Prince be easie and apt to change often his affections and Favorites, but wherefoever he apply himselfe, his love as it is short, so is it blind and vehement; The Favorites remébring that they are now in a high tide, but shall shortly returne to their owne Sea, doe make most greedy use of their felicity. For they are

notafraid by importune suites to weary this affection of the Prince, which unlesse it bee timely taken and made use of, like wines, which last not, it decayes and perishes of it selfe.

But farre different wayes are to be taken with those Princes, who lose northemfelves in a torrent of affection but to that sweetnesse of nature, which makes them love, doe joyne reason also. Forthis affection, being true indeed, and perpetuall (if they deserve it) as it can never do all things, so has alwayes power to doe fomething. Nor must your ob altogether that tree, but gather with choyse the fruit of it, which will grow againe for you. There_

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fore the Favourites of such Princes, doe wholly capply themselves to them; and never forgetting their Majesty, doe alwayes in their love give due observance, modestly use their freedome of speaking or advising, and ofter consider that they are Princes, than that themselves are Favorites. Those Favorites as it is their first care, to hold up themfelves in that height of grace, fo alwayes make it their fecond endeavour to raise Estates, to get Offices and governments, that if they doe remove from that height of favour, yet they may still retaine some happy monument of their former power, and a stay to their after-life. But those, who forgetting themfelves

selves, and too much trusting to their fortune, in prodigall you doe consume all the wealth and revenew of that ich favour, are worthy of a poore old age, and then in raine to repent themselves of heir unseasonable and ill ac-

ing so high a part.

Those Favorites also must ife one caution, which, if hey neglect it, doth someimes ruine them; not to preerre themselves before their Prince in any thing in which re exther desires to excell, or hinks hedoth. If he love the ame of policy, eloquence, vaour, of the art of warre or unting; let him yeeld, that enowes himselfe to excell at t: for feare the Prince should e fired with an emulation,

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that may not onely extinguish the favour, but draw on a cruell and heavy displeasure. For many times the Princes mind (with an ambition not small, but more than the thing deferves) is definous of fame in fuch matters, and takes it heavily to lose the prize. There is no certainer way for those Lords to gaine their Princes affections, than to seeme admirers of them; but it must be done with art, and so as may gaine beleife; for all do not lie open to the same flatteries. Every Prince who eyther is coscious of vertue in himselfe, or fivelled with vaine credulity, either may be or loves to bec deceived by those arts; so many men striving to please and praise thé do quite overcome

their modesty, and make them beleive great matters of themselves. Another great art of gaining their favor is to feem to love them, some Venus (as it were)infinuating an officious grace, and requiring from the a requitall of affection. That man is yet alive, and enjoyes the height of his fortune, who by fuch a happy accident en-creafed the love and favour which his master began to beare him. The King by chance with a fal from his horse bruifing his side, fell into a Fever; this Lord with a sad & astonished countenance watched all night without sleepe by his masters side. Whether it were art or piety, he so far wrought upon the K. affectió, that none wasafterward in greater grace Ff 2 Nor with him.

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Nor can we say that the disposing of so great a felicity (which some few onely can enjoy, having fo many rivals in compassing that happy favour) is onely in the hands of Fortune. For as Fortune alone doth bring some men into Kings favours; fo many of them for want of art and wifdome doe fall againe from that height; so that it may be fayd to be in Fortunes power, sometimes to raise men to it; but of prudence to keepe them in it. But it is therefore a more fearefull thing to fall from that happinesse, because having beene once admitted into the Sacrament of so high a friendship, they can hardly fall from it, but they fall into hatred, or at least a kinde of

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of Minds. 125

leathing; for lovedoth not so often use to dye of it selfe, as to be killed by a contrary affection.

But those Noblemen, by whose hands Princes doe manage the greatest affaires of their Kingdomes, to whom they trust their secret counfels, and the ordering of forreine and domesticke affaires. doe commonly temper the strength of their dignity after another way; as namely fo to draw all the deepest and greatest cares of the realme into their owne hands, and so to appropriate them to themselves, that they stand not in fo much need of their Country, as their Country does of their Service. And this they attaine by a perpetuall dili-Ff3 gence

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gence in those affaires, and removing, as farre they can, not onely others, but even the King himselfe from the knowledge of them. For they may fafely manage all things when the Prince is plunged either in ignorance of his owne businesse, or credulitie toward them. But these men being ignorant of their owne fame, doe as seldome almost heare the truth as Kings themselves. For although they be infamous for extortion or pride, or any other wickednesse, and so generally spoken of by the common voice, yet themselves many times know nothing of it, untill being overwhelmed with the weight of them, they begin at the same time to feele the ha-

tred

tred and punishment too. Their countenances for the most part are composed of gravity, accesse to them is not easie; therefore discourses are short, shewing much busines, and a kinde of Majesty. A. mong these there are some few, whose lookes are nevther confused with businesse, nor swelled with pride. These are worthy of high praise indeed; nor are the other to be condemned, who fashing on their manners according to their dignity and fortunes: For this high Majesty, above the valgars pitch, is fometimes necessary, in those men, by whose hands Kings doe manage their greatest affaires: especially seing the difficulty of accesse & conference FfA

728 The Wirrow begets a reverence toward them; whereby the minds of common people are bridled for the people commonly doe eyther feare or contemne. But that asperity of a strict countenance, whether it bee difdaine, or a true valuation of their power, may well bee forgiven in them, who for a reward of all their weighty cares, have this especially, as a token of honour and respect. Besides being worne, as tt were, with continuall trouble and businesse, they cannot al-

fage.

But if that power, and ability to helpe or deceive, doe fall upon impious minds, who

wayes put on the same countenances, or looke with a cleare, and unchanged vi-

intent

intent wholly upon their owne profit, neglect the publike safety: then although in their wickednesse they counterfeit vertue never so subtilly, (as if neglecting their own domesticke affaires, they were carefull onely for their Prince and Countrey;) they turne notwithstanding all their bufinesses that way, which tends. to the preservation and increase of their owne dignity. If they can helpe themselves while the Kings estate is troubled: while with all diligence they seeme to cleare it, they doe but involve it into moe difficulties, and throw it into darke perplexities. But if in a quiet kingdome they can more securely reigne, then of necedity they hate all commotions.

motions, and will rather fuffer the peace of their times to continue, though growing in the feedes of all evill, and perchance to the ruine of posterity. Lastly, the same desires, which possesse elected Kings, doe commonly feed these Statesmen: both of them holding a fuddaine transitory power, which is not at all to descend upon their posterity.

Who therefore can chuse but admire those men, which inso great a place can keepe integrity, and remember true vertue, when it lyes in their power to offend with fo much ease, and so much advantage? Some fuch in every age, to the releife of Mankinde, have come upon the stage, men severe to them-

felves,

felves, of a white & innocent honour, ambitious of nothing but the publike good. But the goodnesse of these men many times - cannot keepe them fafe from envy. Forby the very slipperinesse of their dignity (upon which few are strong enough to stand) and the vices of their fellowes, their vertue oftentimes is wronged; and detracting tongues will never leave those eminent places, in which they may find matter of railing, fometimes justly, but never without sufpition.

But glorious is the fruit of fuch a dignity: that beeing fafe, and out of they reach, they fee the envy of other men against them;

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and those men forced to give them respect, whom they know maliciously bent, hiding their amulation, and striving to expresse love. For fuch envy joyned with admiration, and stirredup onely against felicity, doth yeild (I know not in what sense) as kinde of ambitious pleasure to those men, against whom it rifes, as putting them in mind. of their owne greatnesse, and the basenesse of other men.

But they have another, and farre more excellent prerogative in governing the Commonwealth, that can lend a helping hand to brave and vertuous men, whom poverty or some other calamity doth keepe downe, and be ready, as it were, to ayde distressed

nature. Which thing as it becommeth the to performe, fo can they not leave it undone without suffering of punishment in themselves for it, as fecretly chidden by the indignation of good men, and upbraided by the image of vertue daily complaining within them: For feeing they did deserve to be advanced for this very reason, because they either are or feeme to be men of the ancient and prudent industry; Why should not they acknowledge men of that excellent quality, and dearely love those that are of kindred with their ownedispositions? Nor are they ignorant which they be, or where they may be found. For as all other living creatures, unlesse they be **farke**

starke blinde, can see and know those that are of their owne kinde: so these men being of so cleare a sight, of so eminent and full a judgement, cannot chuse but finde out, without mistaking, men that are of kindred to their owne excellencies. And let them not fay that they are oppressed with the multitude of fuch natures, and that neither themselves nor the Commonwealth are sufficient to provide for all of them; it were well with Mankind, if there were so great a plenty of excellent foules, that, when all publike affaires were committed to them, some would bee still left, bestowed by Godupon the world, as it were, for no action or employment. But

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Mankind is not happy in fuch a plenty; and it was rare in all ages, and among all Nations to find a deepe and pure wit, fit to be employed in any kind of civility, one adorned with learning, and borne with a cleare and valiant modelty, to dare all things, but nothing too much. When great men invite such dispositions to partake with them in the publike felicity, they doe first honour themselves, as of kindred to that Genius; and secondly adde strength to the commonwealth, which is never better governed than by wife me. As the fame of all eminent arts is stained by the multitude of artificers, & the unskilfulneffe of thé, most of thé being unable to doe what they promise, & feeking

seeking for their commendation onely the vaine name of fuch an art : so the fame of wisedome and science bath beene oft stained by unworthy men, who have Rudyed nothing leffe than the Mules, or true Prudence. But it concernes great men to keepe downe that counterfeit and adulterate vertue; and advance true industry, vindicated from the prajudice of unskilfull men, to such rewards as, of juftice, are due to it.

The

The fourteenth Chapter.

Of the studies and desires of Courtiers; Of the different natures and affections of rish and poore men.

Besides these two sorts of great men, bestriended by Fortune, there are in Kings Courts a great multitude of men of all births, noble and upstart, of all estates and ages, who there seeke after wealth, same, and savour. And these houses of Princes, though to the outward show they appeare as places composed to all jollity and pleasure, sometimes silled withrevels, sometimes

times (for a change of recreation) sweating with hunting games; full of honours, glittering in pompous and gor-geous attire, and rich banquettings; where every man seemes to live in a garbe of magnificence, and jollity above his condition: Yet to him that lookes more narrowly into the nature of it, they will appeare in manner of Faires or Markets, where men doe exercife a most laborious kinde of traffique. How many arts, how many troubles belong to a Court life, scarce they themselves can tell you, who have that way fuffer'd along time for their ambition. Nor does any man in this Sea deserve the haven, but he that understands that a cotinuall timuall care and labor belongs to him to turne even those things, which in fuch a life feeme to flatter a man with foft showes of pleasure into fevere uses; and alwayes in those very delights, find out matter of care and industry. For as the hardest labors may grow into a delight (as when immoderate hunting; or too watchfull studies are pleasing to a strong and uncurbed minde:) so all kindes of fport may by a fevere intention bee so tempered, that they may turne to the burthen of a true labour. Therefore the recreations and delights, which are found in the Court jollity, doe no way take the wisedome of those

men who have not yet satisfied their wants and ambition, to make them, among these sading images of selicity, forget that themselves are not yet happy, and let slip fortune, who for the most part never bestowes her selfe upon any man, but as the reward of an unwearied and strong dili-

gence.

Wouldst thou know therefore how, and with what
countenance to receive these
Sirens, lest if thou hearken to
them, they hurt thee, or if
too rustickly thou contemne
them, they proscribe thee as
too unseasonably grave? There
is no need of a sterne counnance or barbarous precepts.
If they be of such a condition,
age, and person, as they may
hope

hope to thrive by these revels and Court sports, then artificially they mould themselves to that magnificence, and pursue the fame of Court-Thip; and especially turne their garbe to that kinde of jollity, which is most pleafing to the Prince. But neyther is it good for them with the wast of their Patrimonies to buy the miseries of along hope: nor to let these loose and pleasant-seeming baites mollify and corrupt their mindes; thinking daily with themselves, that they are now at the hunting, not the prey. But others which are not by the fame fortune invited to these showes of delight (as unfit for them in condition or disposition) suffer not themfelves

selves to be deceived with that errour which the other unwary Gallants are, as to thinke that a man cannot be a brave fellow, or accounted a Courtier, unlesse he be eminent for extreame boldnesse, and all expressions of wanton jollity. They know that ingenious vertue can there open to them other wayes, & more fecure, to wealth and honour. And that Princes doe more certainely esteeme and reverence a man, that understands his owne condition and Gewins, and followes that, without any disguise or vain pride, than such men, as ambitiously counterfeit and put on a garb, which fortune hath denyed to their persons and conditions. This moderation doe those wife wisemen keepe, who come to such Court-baites, as to an art, to make use of them rather than enjoy them; but let them, whom Fortune has not condemned to foluxurious a charge, taste these delights in fober pleafure, and as a recreation onely to their greater cares. And rather as Spectators, than to be themselves a part of the Scene; Lastly those who possesse fortunes eyther by their owne industry, or their ancestors, may bee allowed to follow those pleasures and recreations, as sorting with their ranke and quality.

Nor is it wonder if those men be unfit for great matters whom sluggish Luxury, that look'd no farther than it selfe,

has as it were bewitched: since a watchfull diligence letting passe no occasion, is not more required in any kinde of life, than that of a Courtier. For as trees grow from little feeds, and a man may stride over the fountaine of greatest rivers: so in Court greatest felicity hath sprung from very small beginnings, and fuch as have not beene perceived by eyes intent onely upon Playes and recreations.

METELIA obtayned the marriage of DICTATOR SYLLA by this accident; comming into the Theater, and lightly laying her hand on his shoulder as he sate, she sayd, she desired to partake of his fortune. MARIUS in his beginning

ginning poverty received his first encouragement from an accidental speech of Scipio. as prophetically pointing him out to the height of warre like honour For he knew how the hearers of this speech might be kept in this prajudication, and the greatnesse of his growing fame fro thence made up. So sometimes by a little and light blast wee are put in minde of a commodious winde, which if we follow, will carry our vessell to fuch fortunes as were above our hopes, and almost above envy. It has raised some only to light upon a great man, when he was pleasant and free, and open to any acquaintance which fortune brought him : fome by a seasonable

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and happy sentence or jest: some by a suddaine token expressed by chance of spirit or industry, some by a casuall comendation of one, who aymed not at that when he spoke, have been strangely furthered in the way of advancement.

There is therefore in men that are worthy to follow the Court with fortune, no rash foule, nor impatiet of lingring and manifold hopes, but composed, and alwayes looking upon Fortune, and curious enough to find out whatfoever the, though implicitly, promife to him. Nor do they wait idly untill those seedes of felicity do of their own accords fall upon them. But by great arts they further Fortunes good meaning to the; of which

the chiefest are to have friendthip with many; but with still observance, to keepe the favour of one of those which are of the nearest familiarity with the Prince. For that way of rifing is not so open to envy, and besides, the Kings friends, more than the King himselfe, doe ofté bestow the wealth of the Kingdome. Let that Nobleman be such a one, as can prefer his friends with publike benefits; for great noblemen neither wil give away their wealth, nor, if they would can those rivers afford such stróg tides, as a P. his sea cã do.

Nor must they weary the favor of that Noblema with oftenard unprofitable suites; lest the very sight of them grow offensive to him, as fea-

Gg 3 ring

ring alwayes a fresh trouble : or else least spending his favour in small matters, they become much indebted to him (as ever granting their (uites) but little to fortune. In Fables we fee that point of wisdome expressed. NEPTUNE granted to his sonne THE seus three wishes, and confirmed by a great oath that he should obtaine them. THE seus having twice tryed the Gods fidelity, when now his last with remained, the was fo loath to throw away that be tame benefit, which he could never call backe againe, that at the time of his imprisonment in Hell, when DERITHOUS Was flaine, hedid not invoke whe promised avde of his Father! buffeared (usifotherewere Thir fomeformewhat beyond death) to redeeme his fafety at fo great

a price.

\$ 4 EAT 1 8 There is in Court another labour of eminent profit; to be able to turne thy nimble and active minde feverall waves, and to put on, at least in shew, any motion or garbe that may be pleafing; which scarce any man can fitly doe without frong and aufterediligence, and a great command over his owne defires. By this art have many men gotten both estates and honours, eyther infree Commonwealths, in which fo many Lords can not bee all pleased with one vertue or one vice; or in Kings Courts, where you must not onely fashion your studies to the Princes ownerhumor, but Marian 6 g 3

must court all that are in grace with him; who being oft of various dispositions must bee wonne by different kinds of service.

These and the like studies of anxious diligéce do they take who follow the Court upon right hopes, and pracepts of truePrudence:but these things are either not discerned, or elfe despited by the more than blinded young Courtiers; who oftentimes unworthy of their parents carefull paines, fall away fro their wealthy modefty in a luxurius (& afterwards needy)ambition. It is enough for them to be named Courtiersi& numbred among men of honor; it may be, because it is the first liberty that they taste after they are freed fro the jurifdiction

rifdiction of their Schoolemasters; and there are enow there to draw these novices into debaushment. But if they chance to receive the least grace in countenance or words fro the Prince himfelf, they are scarce able to beare so proud a joy; but with ravished eyes looks about them to see who are by, to witnesse this great honor. But especially they seeke after the fame of revelling and wanton Courtship, as a note of Nobility and manly vertue; nor doe they moderate themfelves according to their own estates, but to the expences of greatmen; fo emulating the course of those that are above them, and not able to keepe pace with them, they run thefelves out of breath, and faint

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rom hence they grow heavily in debt, and complaine against the Prince, where them selves are in fault; as if the Prince could insufe wisdome into all his Servants; or that his sacred treasury, and thorough that, the Commonwealth should suffer for the profuse madnesse of these wanton sooles.

There are not onely in Courts, but in all kindes of life, different dispositions of rich and poore men. I call not onely those poore men, who are in extreame want, and driven to take miserable care for meat and cloathes, but those also which want estates to support them in that state of life, which they have taken; and from which they

cannor descend but by a sad confession of poverty. Some poore then doe openly went their griefe; and had rather complaine of the wretched nesse of their condition, thans excuser or concease it. So to the great eafe of their cala mity, they can open'y chide Fortune, and avoyd a greaten trouble than poverty, which is, to counterfeit wealth. By this meanes they can inure themselves to beare their misfortune; and by professed laboar feeke a remedy against that greefe, which they doe not hide. Men become of this nature, either by their low birth which keepes them from blushing at poverty; or elfe (which is almost a vice") they are so subdued and ta-Gg 5

med by Fortunes lashes; that they dare breathe no higher; or lastly by a brave and commendable contempt of transitory things, disdaining to professe that condition, in which the fates have placed them; able to manage great fortunes, and in poore estates

not dejected.

There is another kinde of poore men, who with an obflinate and Spartan patience, can endure all the strokes of fortune. They with a merryseeming countenance, do hide the anxiety of their care-distracted mindes, and thinke themselves happy enough, if they can seeme so to others. So in an obstinate concealement of their miseries, they suffer inwardly for that

mamefaltneffe, being ever folicitous about their publike fame, and moreover the talke of their houshold Servants, who must both know, and fometimes feele those wouds. As many of those poore men' as doe see helpe at hand, and neare to them upon certainty (which is enough to make cities stiffely endure a siedge) & have for a while with fained cheerfulnesse hid their poverty, doe not onely deserve not to be accused of pride, but to be accounted brave men, and worthy to be speedily rescued by prosperity. But those men weh in their poverty, do fuffer that perpetuall vexatio, without any expectatió of fortunes redresse (at least not hopefull) yet wil fo order their affaires.

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as inmidit of perpetuall do mesticke miseries, they will put on this maske of wealth; they are altogether worthy of pity, and may without envy enjoy that ambition, which with lo many cares and calamities they have purchased. There are lastly some, thorough whom wealth, like suddaine gushes of water ... doth passe and spend it selfe in a magnificence too high for it. Their mindes doe fuffer a wonderfull punishment, and worthy of their madneffer nor is there agreater or worle madnesse, than not to decline. by a mature confession of thy fortunes, à certaine ruine: and whileft by a charge that cannot last, thou wouldn't have the people thinks thy estate

great :

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great; thou makest it so small that it can never after stand in any mediocrity. This is especially the fault of Noblemen and young Gentle men, that come newly to their inheritances, who are of an haughty disposition, not knowing frugality, but by a profusion of wealth seeking a fame higher than their owne estates, or the fortune of their ancestours. Their mindes: are troubled with long maladies, and fall oftentimes from that greatnesse, which they feeme to carry; for there is scarce any humility, nor oftentimes plaine fraud, but they will fecretly descend to it, to get money, which afterwards publikely, as it were in a whirlewinde of inconsiderate. rath-

rashnesse, they may profusely throw away. There is nothing more dangerous than to commit any publike office to fuch dispositions, who by any meanes strive to respite that Poverty, with an anxious feare, but such an one as is not pænitent, they daily and just-

ly expect.

There are also as many diverfities in the condition of richmen as of poote. Some are born to estates left by their anceitors. Other men by degrees do get wealth, & learne by little and little to be fortunate. Both of these are neither transported with admiration of themselves, nor with immoderate exuitation, long custome having almost destroyed the sense of daily joy; which

is never excessive; when by degrees it arifes and expires. But there are some, who by a suddaine torrent of Fortule are overwhelmed, and at one race doerna as it were from Earth to Heaven. And these men by fuch an unufuall fweetnesse are transported to a forgetfulnesse of themselves and a most proud contempt of that condition, from whence they are now translated. There happened lately a fit example for us to behold a minde drunken with suddain prosperity, and worthy ofrelation, because by theview of one picture we may conje-Aure of other faces.

There were two youths, who by education at the fame Schooles, were endeared to gether

gether in a neare tie of friendwas Mella, the name of the other Capro, in whoie count trie the Schoole was, and this beginning of their love. The time pailing away which that age doth ipend at Schoole, Mela teturned into his owne Countrey; But first with Capio he entered into a deare league of everlasting friendship; nor was this affection in them afterwards changed by their more manly studies and delights. For by often letters and declaration of all their fecrets, they still nourished their ancient friendship. In the meane time an unexpected inheritance had raised Capie to a higher condition; and Mella about

about certaine businesses was called into Cepio's Countrey. Of whose comming when Cepio understood, not now so mindefull of their old love, as glorying to have Mellaa witnesse of his high fortunes, bee made hafte to goe and visit him. Mella his affection was fincere, and not overcome by fuch affaults of Fortune. Hee therefore with a plaine heart goes to meet his friend, and affectionately embracing him, begins to remeber all those things, which friends at the first sight, after long absence, use to doe. But Capio with a grave and composed looke, and an affected voyce, as if he were loath to change the copy of his countenance began almost to sing

to him. And when hee was invited to follow into Mella's lodging, to which, as in houses of meane estate, there were narrow staires; I prethee, Mella (quoth he) dost thou lead mee into a chamber or a prison? Mella was offended with this scornefull majesty of Capie, but loath himself to offend in that kind, told him, heedid but hyre the lodging; that the roome, doores, and staires were such as travellers might makeuse of. But when they were come into the chamber, Capio careleffy flinging himselfe upon the bed, and smiling, began 2gaine with a rusticke urbanity to deride the inconvenience of the lodging: Mella, though hee were angry, yet notnotwithstanding (as, if hee consented to capie) hee hid te with a finile also. But hee casting his eyes round about upon the lodging, after hee had with a carelesse state surveyed all the furniture, turned his eyes and countenance vpon Mella: And feeing his bootes, halt thou an horse (quoth he) or rather horfes & Those that come out of your Countrey are of good price; and I find none more fleete than they, when I chase the Stagge, in my woods. When Mella told him hee had none of his countrey Horses, and though hee brought fome, yet hee had loft them by some diseases, or, the di-Remper of a strange ayre;

why then (quoth Capia) dost thou weare bootes? Mella in scorne answered him, that he provided them against winter. Can you tell, quoth Capio, whose Coach that is, that stands before the doore? When Mells told him it was his; You said, quoth Capio, you had no horses. Not of our Countrey horses, said Mella; but did you thinke I came through this Citie a foote ? I hyred German horses to the Coach. Did two horses or foure draw it (quoth Capie?) By this time Mella began to be filled with disdaine as well as anger, but willing to continue this Comady, he answered smilingly he had but two horses; that he left foure for fuch fortunate men as Cupin was. Tell me then, faid fai pio; are you knowne to your King? What quantity of Lands have you? Or doe you command any Lordships? Mella at this could scarce containe laughter, but made him answere onely, that he so enjoyed that meane estate which his ancestors had left him; as that hee might neyther discredit them, nor ruine his posterity. Againe when he more curioufly asked him how much his annuall revenew was, he answered that it furficed him, and Cometimes his friends too; and by that end especially hee valued his wealth. But when he faw himselfe assaulted with so many questions, he resolved to turne the burden of an wering

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ring upon Capio, who was most glad of it. Therefore Meha began to aske him how many Servants daily attended in his house? And afterwards how many horses he kept? And how gracious hee was with his Prince? Nor was Cepie any more modest in speaking of himselfe than wise in questioning of others; but his e peciall di course was of the Court; where he faid many of the Noblemen were simple people. Some of them by easie endeavours he gained for friends; others were taken with admiration of his valour, for hee had now beene twice in the Feild; and others of them, in respect of that favour, which hee had with the King, were glad

to proffer all offices of friend-ship to him. Mella was now amazed, and confident that none but a mad man could utter this. Therefore turning all his wearinesse into wonder and pleasure, hee began to urge him farther, and with madde questions to plunge him, that was forward enough, into abfurdities. There was a little rest, and both of them after these follies had beene a while filent; when CA-Pro, as if some speciall thing had come into his minde, breakes out on the fuddaine, How eager thinkest thou are my hunting Dogges now of the Game? For I have charged my menne not to goe abroad with with them in my absence. My Hawkes now are out of date. for they are mewing their feathers at this time of the yeare. And presently he added, the day growes old; fie upon it; I should long fince have waited upon the King. He will chide me for being folong absent fró him With these words in a stately embrace he falls upon Mella. who more humbly faluted him, and inviting him home to his house, fitting his pride to a kind of curtefie, he entreated him to make use of his faithfull friendship, that desired to ferve him, and request him in what he wanted; hee should find him true in performance of his promifesi This was the end of their difcourfe. ourse, which amazed Mela, and made him curse solaine wealth, if it transport a nan into such madnesse.

This vice of immoderate oasting is incident not onely to those men, whose wiselome Fortune by her too folaine guifts has overwhelned, but to those also which place their glory in warlike eates. For having for the most part, rude mindes, and eyther nurtured in campes, or among those men, whose peace is infected with the faults of campes, they thinke nothing more glorious than to bee feared; and abfurdly thinke to be beleeved, while they speake of themselves. From hence proceeds that boldnesse in bragging and Hh high

highwords, as if their swords should parchase the favour and beliefe of all men. Hereupon in auncient Comedies were the persons of Pyrgopolinices, and Thrase invented, to shew examples of this fierceneffe, flourishing more in swelling wordes, than the true dangers of a Warre. But in Old men and Captaines especially this fault reignes, more fecurely, and with more pardon; Mindes indeed composed for glory, but erring sometimes by inconsiderate vanitie.

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The fifteenth Chapter.

Of Magistrates. Of pleading Lawyers.

He next Dignity, after I the majesticke height of Courts and Princes, is that of Magistrates, to whom the fortunes of Suitors are committed, the punishment of guilty persons, and those offices. which are distinguished into divers titles by the number of those that practice, and the defire of getting of wealth. These for the most part are advanced to their places by open, and permitted bargaining; or else in such Coun-Hh a

tries as these, sales are publikely forbidden, by private, and more strict contracts with noble men, they find there also some that will sell the Common-wealth. They pay oftentimes fo great and immoderate rates for their places, that it is plainly shewed they seeke for them onely through ambirion and hope of prey. For to defire onely to benefit the Commonwealth with a deare care, which destroyes their owne estates, is not a vertue of this Age, nor to be looked for perchance fince the Cury. and Fabrity. But seeing that no vertue is now followed gratis, and for its owne beauty, but all in respect of their rewards are made lovely to men: Therefore this defire of wealth wealth & gaine in Magistrates may more easily bee indured, upon condition that they, con tent with that comon and almost allowed way of sinning, will afterwards with sincerity of minde behave themselves in their imployment.

But as by that height which they undertake, they have power to moderate, and if they please, to abuse the people under them; So unlesse that by mature wisedome, and such as is not only capable of their place of judicature, they can bridle their defires, themfelves cannot avoyd flowtes, and reproaches; but those for the most part are secret ones, and in their absence. For openly by flattering speeches they are stirred up to pride, Hh3

and a vaine confidence of themselves; whilest so many fuitors in law with great obfervance, but fuch as doth not last, doe seeke their favours: For no man, which is called into question for his estare, but can be content humbly to petition the Indges, and, if they be harsh and froward, to appeale them; or if they lye open to a favourable ambition, to feed them (like meate) with many praises, and crindging gestures. Rome did long agoe teach the world that art, when offenders in feare and reverence used to fall downe at the Iudges feete, clothed in base gownes, and their haire in a vile manner neglected. But all these suppliants, what end foever their businesses

businesses haue, assoone as ever they are gone out of the Iudges presence, put off again this fearefull disguise of southing; and sometimes among their companions remember with great laughter, and reckon up the flatteries which they used, and the credulity of those, to whom they put them. For Indges being alwayes full of fucceeding troopes of clients, doe many times value themselves according to their flattery, and thinke that all those are true, honourers to their dignity, who by a composed humility do feeke to gaine their favour. Those Judges, I meane, whose ambition is not acquainted with the manners and lubtlety of our Age? which they Hh 4

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have seene nothing but the Schooles and Courts, in one of which they used to trifle, in the other to have observance, and be deceived; or elfe are of narrow and easie mindes, fondly to believe them that speake for their owne ends. But then especially are they ridiculous to the people, when, as if they were ashamed of their owne condition, they put on the gestures and words of Souldiers, or in their attires imitate the Court fashions, or follow other delights, which are not fuitable to the majesticke gravity of Gownes and tribunall Seates. Which errours doe many times overtake unexperienced young men; for young men are sometimes advanced to those dignities.

But nothing is more miferable to a Common-wealth than when Magistrates and Iudges, forgetting that Goddesse, under whose name, and by whose representation they pronounce sentence, swayed in their affections, either by the greatnesse of guifts, or favor of the pleaders, are not afraid to deceive the Lawes. Nor can I easily tell which is the greater fault to be fwayed by money or by friends; For that easinesse in them of denying nothing to their Favourites, opens a Judges breast to all impiety, accustomed thus by degrees to injustice, that excufing his crime with a show of friendship, afterwards wheresoever hatred or hope shall Hhr leade leade him, he will not feare to offend, and to doe that for his owne sake, which at first he did for his friends.

But if they be eagerly intent on wealth, and feeke riches by the peoples harmes; then the body of the Commonwealth under fuch Phyfitians is more ficke of the remedies than of the difeases. But there are few that in an open way of villany, dare thus to fatisfie the lufts of themselves or their friends. There is a more lingring plague, or, if thou wilt, a modest cruelty; which now by custome is almost excused; to intangle with intricate knots, and to prolong the caufes in their Courts; to be ended late, through an infinite

and ...

and almost religious course of orders. By these arts they prolong their domination over wretched men, and de liver them up to be anotepoly led by their otheers. And with perpetual Brey they feed the advocates, and whole nation almost of those which are fatted with the spoyles of wretched Chents. And how intollerable are the trickes of fome? aultice which they are afraid to fell openly, they prostitute under other Merchants: Their houshold Servants are their Remembrancers and Secretaries, who ule to put into order, and to keeps in record of writing the causes of suitors, and the instruments of them. But fuch men they doe not ad-

mit into this ambitious fervice, untill by great fummes. of money, which they before by fuites have gotten, they, make purchase of these places. Oh miserable mockery of the fortunes of poore wretches, that come to these. tribunals! That the servants. of Judges are not hired, but pay money to be admitted into their family and fervice, what is it else but to buy a liberty of coofening, and by Rolne fees to rob the fuitors, and by felling their fuffrages, by either shortening or obtruding bookes, dare to deceive both their Mailers and aquity it selfe. But many of these Magistrates have candeid mindes, and preferre holinesse, just honours, and that:

that flipend, which the law allowes them, before the co-

vetous artes. Thefe are grave men, and modestly composed within the greatnesse of their fortune; Nor are they praised. more by the flatterie of those that seeke their ayde, than by true fame of their piety and. justice. But if you value the Courts of these Judges not by the manners of each in particular, but by the gravity of the whole Colledge or afsembly, it is wonderfull how great a reverence they willstrike into you. For beeing admitted into their presence, you will altogether thinke them worthy of that speech. OF CYNEAS, who fayd he thought him elfe environed by as many Kings, as Ro man Senatours were then assembled. But yet this Majefty will be a farre more gratefull and delightfull spectacle, to thole men that being free from law bulinesse, have no hopes or feares depending upon their sentences; who fitting, as it were in the Haven, may fecurely looke upon. the stormy Sea, and see these NEPTUNES governing the Waves according to their owne becke. When Rome and Carthage were in league, MASSANISSA King of Numidia, who was also at friendfrip with Rome, had warre with Carthage. The armies were both encamped against each other, and the day appointed for fight; when SCIPIO

SCP I o the younger, being fent by chance upon other businesse into Affrica, came to the Campe of MASINISsa, and enjoyed the fight of that great battaile; he himfelfe, which way foever Fortune enclined, was secure by the Majesty of the Roman name. He went therefore up to the top of an hill to view the battell, and there fecurely enjoyed the dangers of so many men: And it seemed to him a matter of so ambitious a delight, that he favd, none ever had had that fortune before him, but onely Iov E from IDA, and Neptune from: Samothracias who placed out of all danger, beheld the battaile of the Greekes and Trojans. The fame may be fayd of this

this spectacle of the Courts & Judges, than which nothing is more delightfull, if thou stand without danger, and have no need either to intreat or feare. For thou mayst there grow pleasantly acquainted with the learned minds of Judges (as many of thé are such,) or else perceive their want of sence and eloquence in some causes, and so give sentence upon the Iudges themselves. Or if thou lovest to be among the trouble of the Court, the very noyse of their running up and downe, and different lookes, fome animated with feare, fome exulting with hopes, wil fo take up thy mind and eves, that thou wilt thinke thou beholdest a pleasant scene of humane

humaine madnesse. And especially the subtilty of the
advocates, (whose eloquence
is there at sale) displaying it
selfe in oftentation of Science
and pompous language, will
be enough to give thee a delight sweet, and not altogether idle; which while thou
enjoyest, thou shalt notwithstanding with searlesse sighes
grieve sometimes for the miferies of others.

For the mindes and condition of the advocates (as mankind doth turne even her aydes to her owne ruine) are much changed from the first institution of officious Piety. To pleade causes before the Judges, to accuse the guilty, and defend poore Suppliants, was once a magnificent and libe-

liberall office, performed by those men to whom the commonwealth committed the highest charges in the Campe or Senate house. POMPEY the Great stood not ofter in battell than before the Indges; and the first CESAR'S, although they had all power, yet sometimes they chose rather to aide the accused by way of advocation, than by the suffrage of their high authority. And that magnificent function was so far from having any hire but glory, that when afterward that right Nobility began to decline, and Orators beganne to fell their paines, lawes were made to forbid, and brand with infamy fuch dangerous hires; and afterwards when the

the publike vice had broken downe those barres also, yet therewas a meane set downe, and a certain pension appointed for that mercenary eloquence. But now when the world grew mad, and suites did exceedingly increase; that thriving and numerous nation are scarce enow for their clients, who spoyle themselves to feede their owne dissentions.

But as all lawyers have one aime every where, to get wealth, and fame, so according to the qualitie of the Countries, there are different studies, and degrees, by which they come to that end. The especiall part of their knowledge is to understand the lawes, not with a cleare and candid

candid Genius, such as they had which made those lawes, but as they are perplexed with innumerable & troublesome poins of subtlety. To finde out somewhat in them. whereby to delude the simplicity of them, that goe plainely to worke, is now esteemed the most glorious thing. Among most nations those lawes, which the Remans made for themselves, and we call civill, are now in force. And because those lawes were founded by skilfull Authors, they have strong diverfity of learning in them, and therefore the studie of them doth not onely store the wits of students with deepe and hard cases of right and fact, but bestowes upon them a faire faire knowledge of antiquity, which is most precious for the adorning of humane life, and strong (at least in pleading) for oftentation. But in those nations, among whom lawes were made not according to the Roman wisedome, but their owne municipall, and sometimes barbarous decretalls, there the unpleasant art of lawiers containes scarle any thing of humanity in it, and unlesse it promised them gaine, would be hatefull even to those that are the most studious in it. For there the Lawyers dreffe not their wits with the Roman and Gracian science or eloquence, but sticking upon certain termes, and contemplating the lawes fometimes for caution, sometimes times for deceit, they scarce ever adorne or raise theyr mindes with purer learning.

England, which has entertained the Muses, and all studies of Learning in most stately houses, and enriched them with great and high revenues, as it were to perpetuate learning to Eternity, cannot therefore adorne her Students of the Law with the humanity of Philosophy, and the Roman eloquence; because in her lawes there are no tracts and footsteps of the Roman law, or learned antiquity. They are conceived in the French tongue, even that old French, which wee now eyther neglect or laugh at in ancient Authors. If there be any words in it, which are

now currant, even those wordes, by changing the accents, and errour of pronuntiation, they have made their owne. Those that are Students in this law, doeseldome regard, any greater Science, and for the most part doe not learne the elements of the Roman language. It is thought enough for the learning of alawyer to be able to reade over those old bookes. and corrupt them in pronunciation. The young students live in colledges ordained for. those subtleties, and by long time, by conference with the ancients, and experience, are instructed in them: for it is no small part of their age that will suffice to make them learned in an art so laborious, and ampli-

amplified by so many wirs. There is no more certaine way to riches in that Countrey. For E-gland quiet now from forreine warres, is (with almost as great a destruction) given wholly over to Law contentions; and feeing that the greatest Offices. and Magistracies are ordained as rewards for that kind of learning, no marvell it is if the noblest young men be taken with the study of it; infomuch as there is scarce any house of Gentry, but in suites can finde Lawyers of theyr owne kindred. Those Lawyers as a badge of their profession doe weare long Gownes downeto their feet, faced with theyr owne Cunnies skinnes. This is their

weare at home, and their ornament abroad; nor doe they make any scruple of going in publike Booted, their Spurres tearing their Gowne that beates against them.

But France in other vertues and vices doth instruct her advocates. Some time they spend in the Vniversity profelling the study of the Civill law. There some with a happie Genius doe follow their learning, others as if they were borne in a Lethargie. But both of them (oh the Times) are capable, as a promiscuous reward, of the fame honours and the fame titles. For those who have there played the trewants through wanton idlenesse

or dulnesse of Nature, may by the helpe of a little money attaine the degree of Advocate; onely by buying the suffiages of the other advocates, to whose testimony concerning the suffiency of Students the Magistrates and Judges give credit.

Which was by an ancient custome, that such honour should bee given to theyr testimonies, in the old time before the mindes of Learned men and Lawyers were subject to sobase a mercenary way. And these men so undeservingly admitted to that degree, doe afterwards live in ignoble Colonyes, and among soules of their owne dulnesse, will serve to make

make wretched advocates before a blind Tribunall. Or if they bee borne of rich parents, they are straight received for their wealth, and afterwards (which is the griefe) are made Magistrates.

But those that have adorned a happie wit first with law, and afterwards with eloquence perfited it, they with their worth doe highly honour the whole ranke of advocates. Scarfe in any other men are the Studies of humanity so truely found, or so great and happy a care in good Learning; infomuch as they seeme to instruct the Muses (whom austere and rude Philosophers have kept as wilde and rusticke out of

the fociety of men) to all the abilities of a civill life, and taking them from their fecret and mountainous aboades, fit them for the true light of Conversation.

But some of them offend by affectation of too much Eloquence, and heated with the incitations of Youth and vaine glory, divert from their duty of advocation. They defire onely to tickle the eare of the Judges and Auditours with pleasure, and of all the company, doe lesse good to no man than theyr Client; and (as the Poet of old scoffed) when they should speake of Goates, they love to be-ginne theyr discourse with the warres of HANNI-

BALL, to rehearse the overthrow at CANNÆ, and the stayning of AVFI-D v s with Roman blood. Others of them are great by exercifing theyr wits in a long custome of deceiving, and to the ruine of inaccence, prostitute theyr mercenarie faith to the patronage of any Cause. So to beare downe the true evidences, to draw an artificiall shadow, and to make theyr wits have more to doe than the Lawes themselves in a Court of Justice, are things which proove enough this publike mischiefe; there are no causes, no offences questioned but may finde a Patron; if they bring money; which, as a thing quite

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outweighing all love to their Countrey, can never want observance and respect.

The

of Minds.

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The fixreenth Chapter.

Of Divines; Of Rulers in Re-

Et some of barbarous and unpolish'd natures scoffe, as they lift, with contemptuous jests at the Majesty of learning; and account that mind manly and noble, which eschewes all the Muses as base and uselesse; yet notwithstanding their estates are oftentimes lyable to the power of learning, which reignes in all cales; and in judgment feates (which ought to be governed by the præscript of science) they use to tremble, for-

forgetting both their birth and boldnesse. But there is another and a greater power, which gives learning a domination over all Mankind; the administration of Religion and holy rites, which is committed usually to men of learning; and which truely reignes over most mens mindes; curbing no lesse all others, who are forced of necessity to conceale their Atheisme and Impiety. Nor is there any estate so poore, or of so ignoble a birth, as can keepe a man from high fame, who in the way of religion puts forth himselfe above the common honesty or badnesse. And least we should thinke that this power of learning hath not taken effect; how eafily

may we reckon up the names of men unarmed, and onely powerfull in their bookes, who in this age living under meane roofes, and contending in points of Religion, have set these great and proud contemners of the Muses, together by the eares? Bearing, as it were, the enfignes before Princes and Nations to calamitous and deadly warres, which yet (as it feemes) is not wholly appealed with our calamities, nor hath confumed the feeds of all that bitternes; which brought it forth.

There can be therefore no furvey of mindes more profitable, than of tho e, which in these manifold stormes of the world doe sit at the sterne of religion. And these are

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to be distinguished into divers rankes; some as Captaines doe begin new religions, and eyther have true wisedome, or run headlong in ambitious errour. So was he that by lawes given from heaven governed the fewer returning out of Er ypt. So was the great Creator of heaven and earth, who taking upon him man's nature, did by his death open the way of life to Mankinde. And fo (because heere we describe not onely honesty, but fortune, which playes her games in humane affaires) was, Oh villany! That man which infected with his venome first Arabia and Syria, afterward whatfoever lyes betweene the Hellefort and In-

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dia, and now from thence all the Countries as farre as the hither part of Hungary. and with his facrilegious fuperstition hath corrupted almost all Affrica. And those whom true and coelestiall inspirations have led to the Majesty of founding religion, are not to be looked into by us, but onely with faith and adoration. But others who are not afiaid in so great a matter to abute Heaven, and coosen the people, muit of necellity have fuch a minde as beleeves nothing at all eyther of their owne Lawes or of Heaven, as spares no vertue, nor forbeares (unleffe perhaps in show) any vice; but is especially carefull to gaine to themselves a veneration, turning

turning those lawes, which they make, to the lust and superstitions of their owne Nation. Nor can those which offend in this kinde (as in other wickednesse it oft falls out) be deceived themselves, or blinded with love of their owne opinions, or the things in question; but being confcious to their owne wickednesse, they know themselves to be impious and the plagues of Mankind : especially when to perswade the people to fuch a ferious novelty is required a most bold presumption, in subtill wit, and befides many lyes are to be invented; as namely that they faw or heard the Deity; that they consulted with him;

him; and whatsoever else those lewd impostors use to averre. But this is not a mifchiefe incident to every age; for but few (and not alwayes with fuccesse) have gone fo farre as to that most impious audacity. There is another kinde of men, and farre more frequent, of those who professe not to forfake the religion of their Fathers, or to broach any novelty; but onely with more pure precepts to roote out errours which by humane corruption and contrary to the minde of antiquity have crept into religion. And these men carry a most magnificent show of honesty, and reverent wisedome (for who but fubtill and industrious men would venture on fo great a matter?) And laftly, the very defire of innovating and differing from other men dorh almost alwayes finde a multitude of followers. The wrangling of such interpreters have much more divided the OTHOMAN Princes from the PERSIAN by difference of Superstition than by emulation of Empire. But what matters it howthose people perish, who must needs erre, what sect foever they undertake to follow? But who would not grieue that wee our selves which are borne into the onely light, should by the discords of learned men bee so miserably distrasted? For fixeteene ages, in which our reli-

religions have flourished, have brought forth above an hundred wits, which by a defire of innovation, and our calamities have gotten themselves a fame. Whose proceedings as I can never excuse (for by too great a fault of obstinacy they transgresse against that modelly, in weh they feemed to begin) fo we may not alwayes justly hate their first motions. For wealth, floth, and idle security have with an impotent pride and other vices overwhelmed all discipline among many of us; and from thence as well the just indignation of learned men hath bin stirred, as the pride of busie bodies, shadowed with the veile of piety, hath beene first fostered. For some

possessed with just forrow have thundered against it; others with a fecret ambition have loved the vices of the age, as things that would give just occasion to their complaints and separation. They use to have both one beginning. At the first they question not many things, and those very sparingly, assisted by the prayers and exhortations of the best men: nor doe they feeme fo much to be angry as to admonish, and with sighs to p ofesse their griefe. But when they are gotten to the height of a faction, then with more freedome doe they provoke their adversaries, and on both sides is kindled a most hot & firmious emular o. Then can they neither modest venough guide guidethe fortune of fo great a fame, nor continue in those steps, by which at the first they feemed to goe to that godly and good endeavour; but rising up with a greater pride, they condemne more things in their adversaries, and with greater vehemency; eyther because they defire, in a miserable ambition, to give their owne names to that Sest which they have made: or because they durst not betray, but by degrees, the first intention of their separation; or else because their hatred is more incyted against those who did too fiercely and unfeafonably contend against their first and wholfomereprehensions. So many that with pious beginnings

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ginnings have entered upon this taske of reformation, have beene afterwards betrayed by pride and bitternesse of emulation.

But there are some who by a true and ftout wisedome are encouraged to taxe those vices, which by the fault of Priests have shadowed themselves under the Cloake of religion. These men, whose just zeale is thus tempered with true modesty, must needs be of a sublime and valiant disposition, and (which is rare) not labouring at all for their owne ends, but the publike good. By reproaches, injuries, and ill speeches they are nevther! Stirred to hatred, nor frighted from their good intentions. This is a most excellen

cellent atchievment, and a worke of high vertue? For those, who are reprehended by them, are feldome wanting to their vices, nor w patience can they endure a cenfurer. But they will find some glosse to set upon their villanies, or (which is worse) stand out in a stiffe defence of them; & endeavour to bring those good admonishers, into an opinion of facrilegious impiety among the people.

But as the rites of beginning Religions do rely wholly upon the inductry and German of their Founders: fo, after they are approved by the people, they have their officers by whom they are administred. These men by serall

verall Nations are honoured with different titles: we call them high Priests, Bishops, and by other titles of that nature. There is no better Government then this to preferve Religion; which indeed was instituted by the preseript of Heaven. Those among them, which are of a learned and laborious vertue, doe indeed uphold the safety of Religion; those that are wicked, doe uphold it, atleast in show, and by vertue of their dignity.

It was once a function of great labour, and, whilest our Religion was forbidden by publike lawes, of high and extreame danger: afterward when the cruelty of our enemies was ouer-

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come and extinguished, that wealth, which was heaped upon them to uphold the reverence of that dignity, did almost extinguish the cause of reverence. For when temporall wealth and honours were added (as it was fit they should be added) to those Divine callings, so great a burthen beganne to disperse them to the Earth, by the default of those, who in such a mixture of these two, beganne to preferre Earth before Heaven. It is a fad argument of decaying honesty, that a function of fo great labour and care, which was wont to feeke out for Incumbents, is now fought for with much eagernesse and ambition

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tion by men, that thinke of nothing lesse then piety and labour.

So this excellent and coelestiall dignity is for the most part ruined by her owne wealth and ornaments. And to apply a mans minde to those functions is for the must part to be entent in raising of high and eminent riches. And those that are possessed of those ambitious titles, doe spend that wealth and treasure, which was first given for publike Hospitality, upon their private wantonnesse, which pleaseth it selfe sometimes with a vaine delight in Pictures, fometimes in the curious labours of other Artificers; for a modest forrow would be

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ashamed to speake of those that spend them in worse things, and plaine villany. But what madnesse is it not onely to dare to commit those villanies, but oftentimes to be ignorant how much they offend? For they have prayers prescribed them to God, holy ones indeede, and fuch as they ought not to omit; but having performed that little taske, they thinke then they owe nothing to Heaven, and the wealth of their Miters is lawfully bought by them. What strange vizards are these and foolish madnesse? to thinke. that that function, which by a daylie and strict labour thou canst scarce performe, should

should be fulfilled by a flight and perfunctory worke. But if they would feason their delights with this wholesome cogitation, that they are placed in a watch-tower, and are called Shepheards; if any of the sheepe do perish by their sloath, it will proove their owne destruction, this though perchance would allay the licence of their wantonnesse, pompe, and jollity.

But all doe not wailow in the same delights and sloath. Some doe abate something from the charge of their pleasures to bestow upon learned men; themselves also are given to learning, but it is but in a short sit, not to last, and sometimes in show only

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Some of them dee attaine to good learning, overcomming Moath by a happy strength of wit. But they use that learning more in nothing than in mainteining the priviledges of that dignitie which they possesse. They find out arguments for infinite liberties of their owne. and their hidden lufts doe make them eloquent. By this meanes while they feeme to looke up onely into Heaven, and pleade the caute of God; they are staked to the Earth.

But those that Lave avoyded these mischie es, that are endued with a disposition fit for their high calling, and doe use their pub-K k

like splendour to the good of the people, and the grace of Divine service (as there are alwayes some such) those will neither endure to loofe the priviledges which belong to their dignities, nor encroach upon other mens; but in a good contemplation they joyne together how much they can doe, and how much they ought. These are men composed after the image of the old fanctity, of the same cares, and the same manner of life, which in old time did deserve that wealth, which the Church now injoyes. Lastly, these men (let none envy what I fay) are truely worthy of the wealth which old times bestowed, 19 of Minds.

and of our highest reverence.

The people cannot be fufficiently taught from the Prelates owne mouthes, for the number of them is but small. From hence a great number of learned men, and graduates in Divinity are maintained every where, of whom some truely and wifely doe labour in that science which they professe; but others, you would suppose, do labor more to uphold a faction, that to find out truth. For carryed away with a great violence of mind they allow of a defence of any nature to proove to the people the fanctity of their religion, and love to advance piety, though by impious Kk 2 meanes

meanes. Therefore to maintaine their owne propolitions, they thinke they deceive fairely and with commendations, although vident arguments may bring credit to that which they beleeve true. And speaking of their adversaries, they doe not truely deliver their tenets, but spitefully turne them, almost contrary to the sence of the Authors. Bur that mad defire of controverfie doth so farre heighten their emulation, that where they begin a little to differ. they will afterwards be crosse in all things from those men; and thinke that a kind of piety: And then, as if those men who once have erred, could

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could hold or reproove nothing rightly, they thinke it a finne to acknowledge in themselves any spots which those men have found out, and to wash them away by a true reformation; and therefore by striving to defend those things which plaine truth tells us cannot bee maintained, they bring an unjust præjudice upon the honest and true part of their controversie.

There is a great affinitie betweene all forts of Learning; and the same affections which trouble Divines, doe fall upon the other studies of the Muses; especially that custome of insisting upon learned Controversies, and

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bringing them almost to plaine harred. The wranglings of Lawyers doe grow even almost to uncivill words, threatning to each other the whip in our Age. Phylicke is divided into feets with greater obstinacy; because they hunt for fame not onely for their owne glory, but to gaine wealth; nor are theyr controversies ever in jest, or for pleasure onely, whilest sicke men must undeservedly suffer for whatsoever they thinke amisse. But the kindes of all Learned men may bee distinguished into two rankes: One is of those men which are happie in much knowledge and erudition, but being polished also with ci-

vill disciplines, they doe avoyd the carelese vility of Scholasticall manners: The other of those men whose mindes are bent wholly upon letters, being more converlant in the rotten footsteps of Antiquity than in their owne Age; These for the most part are foolish abroad, and fordid at home. For they know not nor care for any other Elegancy, than that solitary elegance, which they receive from contemplation of the Muses, and had rather enjoy it so, than make true use of it. Yet may you converse with these men to a great benefit of your selfe, if you know how to extract gold out of their Kk 4 crude

orude and formelesse earth, and make your selfe to shine

and make your felfe to shine in those ornaments, which in them are not seene, as covered over with much dust and

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